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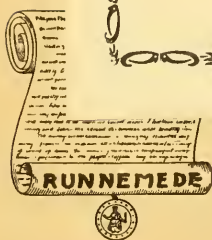
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1891

SOLDIERS
IN
KING PHILIP'S WAR.

CONTAINING

LISTS OF THE SOLDIERS OF MASSACHUSETTS COLONY,
WHO SERVED IN THE INDIAN WAR OF

1675—1677.

WITH

*Sketches of the Principal Officers, and Copies of
Ancient Documents and Records
Relating to the War.*

BY

GEORGE M. BODGE.

BOSTON :
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TO
MR. JOHN WARD DEAN,
AT WHOSE SUGGESTION THIS WORK WAS UNDERTAKEN,
AND TO WHOSE KINDLY ADVICE AND
HELPFUL INTEREST
IS LARGELY DUE ITS MEASURE OF SUCCESS,
THIS VOLUME
IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED
BY THE AUTHOR.

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AN INTRODUCTORY REVIEW

OF THE

EVENTS OF THE WAR.

THE sole object of this series of papers was, at the beginning, the preservation in convenient form of the names of those soldiers who served in the Indian War of 1675-7, known as "King Philip's War"; so called from the name of the recognized leader of that war, whose Indian name was Metacom or Pometacom, or Metacomet; but whom the English called Philip. He was the second son of Massasoit, who at the settlement of the English at Plymouth and Boston seems to have been chief sachem of all the various tribes and fragments of tribes living between the Charles River and Narraganset Bay, and including that part of Rhode Island east of the Bay, and also the Cape Cod tribes. The rule of Massasoit was probably rather indefinite both as to limits of territory and extent of authority over the subordinate chiefs. While Massasoit seems to have been the acknowledged head of the tribes within the limits above named, the league between the chiefs of the tribes was evidently very loose, and held mostly for convenience in defence, and perhaps for the settlement of difficulties between individual tribes. The territory of this Sachem was bounded upon the west by the Nipmucks and Narragansets. But a very great proportion of this had been sold by the Sachems before the opening of the war. Massasoit had several children, three of whom are known to us by name; Wamsutta and Metacom, who came to Plymouth about 1656 and at their own request received English names from the Governor, who "christened" them "Alexander" and "Philip." A sister of these was the wife of Tuspaquin, chief of the Namaskets; she was called by the English "Amie." Mention is made of another son and also a daughter, but I have not proper authority for their names. Alexander married a Sachem's daughter, or widow, of the Pocasset tribe, and after his death, soon following Massasoit's, 1661 or '62, she returned to her own people, and ruled there with influence and ability until the war; when her second husband, Petanauet, Petonowowett, or "Peter Nunnuit" (as he is sometimes called), took sides

with the English, she, possibly reluctantly, joined the fortunes of Philip, who had married her sister Wootonekanuske, and had great influence with her.

Massasoit had always maintained a cordial and firm friendship with the English; and it would seem that Alexander also was somewhat of his father's nature and disposition. The moment, however, which saw Philip raised to the place of power, gave signal of a far different course of conduct on the part of the Wampanoag Sachem. The limits of his father's olden territory had been greatly reduced before he came to power. The English had purchased and otherwise absorbed a large proportion of their lands. Philip kept on selling and surrendering, till at last, as early as 1670-1, he began to feel the pressure of civilization upon their hunting and fishing grounds as well as cornfields. The Court at Plymouth itself had interfered and forbidden the transfer of certain parts of the Wampanoag territories, and thus doubtless saved the Indians in various tribes a home. Pokanoket, the hereditary home, was thus saved to Philip's people; and here he lived at the time of the opening of the war. This place was called by the English "Mount Hope," and it is now embraced in the town of Bristol, R. I.

But now having given some account of the principal character in the war, we may state briefly the method of collecting the material in these papers, and the purpose of this present chapter.

The method adopted in arranging the soldier's names needs explanation. The material which served as the basis of the work, and indeed first suggested the undertaking, was found in three manuscript volumes, containing the accounts of John Hull, who was the Treasurer of the colony at the time of the war. These volumes are devoted to the accounts pertaining to the war, and consist of a Journal and two Ledgers. The Journal was opened June 24th, 1675, and originally contained over five hundred pages, as the Ledger shows, but now has only four hundred and sixty-one complete. There was evidently a later Journal and also a Ledger, now missing, which belonged to the set. The third book is later, and contains the closing accounts in the war. These old books were preserved in private hands for a century and a half, until discovered by one who appreciated their value for genealogy and history, and secured them for those purposes. In searching these books for the name of one who served in the Indian war, the present writer discovered the importance of the accounts in the matter of the Indian war of 1675. Every soldier who served in that war is credited with military service, and the name of the officer under whom he served is given in the credit. The date at which payment is made is given in the "Cash" account, but the time and place of service is not designated; nor is the residence nor any further information about the soldier given. Some of the soldiers served at different times and under different officers. The best method therefore of arranging the men in com-

panies was found to be that of following the names of the officers as they occur in the credits. The names were thus gathered from the Journal, and placed in companies with their officers. Then the fortunes of each company were followed as carefully as possible throughout the several campaigns of the war. But it was found that a great amount of unpublished material is still preserved in our State Archives, County and Town Records, and elsewhere; and this, in the light of the great number of names identified in these credits as soldiers, becomes available and interesting as history. Additional material has been gathered and incorporated here from all sources, whenever it would add to the sum of knowledge concerning the war.

The officers and soldiers, many of them, served in several, some in all the different campaigns; and thus in following their fortunes, it was necessary to go over the same events many times, so as to marshal the various companies in order in the military operations.

It will be seen that by this method of arrangement, a great amount of important material has been massed together conveniently for the study of history, while the story of the war has not been followed by consecutive events, but according to the experience of individual officers and companies. It is proposed in this introductory chapter to give a brief account of the war, following events in order as nearly as possible. It will not be necessary to discuss the causes leading up to the war. It is enough to say here, that the English had assumed the government of the country, and followed their course of settlement with small regard to the rights of the natives. In some of the plantations, the settlers purchased their lands of the Indians, as a matter of precaution; partly that they might have that show of title in case any other claim should be set up in opposition to theirs, and partly to conciliate the savages, whose hostility they feared, and whose friendship was profitable in the way of trade, in furs and other products of the hunt. The Indians were always at disadvantage with the English, in all the arts of civilized life. The English paid no heed to Indian laws or customs or traditions; and ruthlessly imposed their own laws, customs and religious ideas, with no apparent thought of their intolerance and injustice. They made treaties with the savages in the same terms which they would have used had they been dealing with a civilized nation. They made out deeds, in language which only the learned framers themselves could understand. In brief, the Pilgrims and Puritans mostly looked upon the Indians as heathen, whose "inheritance" God meant to give to his people, as of old he had dealt with Israel and their heathen. There were some, however, who, with Rev. John Eliot, believed that the Indians had immortal souls, and that they were given to God's people to educate and save. But there was nothing which the rulers of the Indians resented more persistently, nor complained of more frequently, than the attempts of the Chris-

tians to convert their people. Indirectly one of these converted Indians was the immediate cause of the opening of hostilities. There were many grievances of which the Indians complained; but they had not the foresight to see the inevitable result of the constantly increasing power of the English, in their acquisition of land, and multiplying of settlements. It was only when they felt the pressure of actual privation or persecution, that they began to think of opposition or revenge. Their chiefs had been summoned frequently before the English courts to answer for some breach of law by their subjects; several times the English had demanded that whole tribes should give up their arms because of the fault of one or a few. The Indians lived mostly by hunting and fishing, and at the time of the war used fire-arms almost wholly. They had learned their use and bought the arms of the English, nearly always at exorbitant prices. They were expert in the use of their guns, and held them as the most precious of their possessions. The order to give these over to the English, with their stock of ammunition, was regarded by them as robbery, as indeed in most cases it was, as they seldom regained their arms when once given up. We can now see that from their standpoint there were grievances enough to drive them to rebellion. But our forefathers seem to have been unable to see any but their own side. But now to the story.

John Sassamon (Mr. Hubbard says Sausaman) was the son of a Wampanoag Indian who with his wife and family lived in Dorchester. They had been taught by Mr. Eliot, and professed the Christian faith. The son John was the pupil of Mr. Eliot from his early youth, and was made a teacher among the Christian Indians at Natick. Mr. Hubbard says that "upon some misdemeanor" there, he went to the Wampanoags, where he became the secretary and interpreter of the chief, to whom he was a most valuable assistant and trusted adviser. He was soon prevailed upon by Mr. Eliot to return to Natick, where he became a preacher, while still preserving friendly relations with Philip and his tribe. In 1672-3 he was at Namasket as preacher among the Indians, whose chief was Tuspauquin, whose daughter Sassamon had married. While here he discovered that a plot was in process, extending among many tribes, to exterminate or drive away the English settlers from the country. This plot Sassamon disclosed to the authorities at Plymouth, and afterwards the story was told to the Massachusetts authorities; and Philip was summoned to answer to the charge. At the examination, where nothing positive could be proved against Philip, he found by the evidence that Sassamon had betrayed him, and he immediately condemned him to death in his council. The sentence was carried out January 29, 1674-5 while Sassamon was fishing through the ice upon Assawomset Pond. His executioners were brought to punishment, and it was discovered that the deed was done by Philip's order. The trial was in March, 1675, and the

principal actor, Tobias, and his accomplice, Mattashunannamoo, were executed as murderers, June 8, 1675; while Tobias's son, who was present but took no part in the crime, was reprieved for one month and then shot. After the execution of the two in June, Philip threw off all disguise as to his plan, and pushed his preparations as diligently as possible. The plan had been to complete preparations and include all the tribes in New England, so that a simultaneous assault could be made upon all the settlements at once. This plan was spoiled, and probably the settlements saved from destruction, by the impatience of the leader's vengeance. While Philip's preparations went forward, the authorities thought best not to make any immediate military demonstration further than the placing of a guard by the various settlements to prevent a surprise. They thought Philip would soon tire of holding his men in arms and training, so that they could get him in their power. But his company increased, and the younger warriors began to demand some open act of hostility. At last they began not only to insult the English settlers in the nearest settlements, by their words of insolence and threats, but to shoot their cattle and plunder their houses. The Indians increased greatly in numbers, from the neighboring tribes, many "strange Indians" appearing among them, and most of their women and children being sent away to the Narraganset country. At Swansy they appeared in considerable numbers, and used all their ways of provocation to induce some act of resistance from the settlers; and at last, upon June 24th, one man was so enraged at the shooting of his cattle and the attempt to rifle his house, that he shot at an Indian, wounding him. Upon this the Indians began open and indiscriminate hostility, and on that day eight or nine of the English at Swansy were killed and others wounded. Two men were sent for a surgeon, but were waylaid and slain, and their bodies left upon the road. Messengers, sent from the English authorities to treat with Philip and prevent an outbreak, came upon the bodies of the men slain in the highway, and speedily turned back. The colonies awoke to the fact that an Indian war was upon them, but supposed that a few companies sent down to Swansy would at once overawe the savages and reduce them to submission. A speedy muster was made, both at Plymouth and Boston, and on the afternoon of June 26th, five companies were mustering or on the march from the two colonies. The details of the account of the war will be found in the body of the preceding chapters. Here only a brief outline of current events can be given. The first company of infantry from Boston was made up from the regular military companies of the town. A company of cavalry, or "troopers," was gathered from the regular organization in three counties. A third company, of "volunteers," was raised about the town and vicinity, from all sorts of adventurers, sea-faring men and strangers, with a number of prisoners who had been convicted of piracy and condemned to death, but were now released to engage

in fighting the Indians. Capt. Daniel Henschman commanded the first company; Capt. Thomas Prentice the troopers, and Capt. Samuel Mosely the "volunteers." These three companies marched out of Boston on the 26th and 27th and arrived at Swansy on the 28th, having formed a junction with the Plymouth forces under Major James Cudworth and Capt. Fuller. The forces quartered about the house of Rev. John Miles, the minister at Swansy, whose place was nearest the bridge leading over the river into Philip's dominions. Some of the troopers that evening rode across the bridge and had a slight skirmish with the enemy. On the 29th, Major Thomas Savage arrived with another company of foot with Capt. Nicholas Paige's troop. Major Savage took command of the Massachusetts forces; while, according to the custom in the United Colonies, the senior officer of the colony in which the forces were engaged at the time became commander-in-chief. The present seat of war being in Plymouth colony, Major Cudworth was thus the commander of the whole army. On June 30th, the troopers, supported by Mosely's company, charged across the bridge for a mile into the woods, driving the enemy before them into swamps, with a loss of five or six, Ensign Perez Savage being severely wounded on the English side. This charge so frightened the Indians that they fled, in the night, out of their peninsula of Mount Hope, across the channel to Pocasset, now Tiverton, R. I., so that on the next day when the whole force marched over into Mount Hope, and marched back and forth sweeping the country with their lines, they found no enemy. The forces were engaged several days in scouting the neighboring country in search of the Indians, not yet knowing that the main body were in Pocasset.

Then orders came from Boston for Major Savage's forces to march into Narraganset, to enforce a treaty with that powerful tribe, and prevent their junction with Philip. They found the country apparently deserted, few except the very aged being left in any of the villages. Neither Canonchet nor any of his leading Sachems could be found. The officers, however, spent several days completing a very ceremonious treaty with some of the old men whom they were able to bring together. Canonchet afterwards treated the whole matter with scorn as being a farce.

In the meantime the Plymouth forces passed over to Pocasset and found a body of Indians, and had a skirmish with them. Capt. Fuller was in command, and Benjamin Church conducted a part of the force, which became engaged with a much larger force, and after hard fighting were drawn off with difficulty by the tact and courage of Mr. Church, after inflicting serious injury upon the enemy, and suffering little loss themselves. After this the Indians retired into the swamps about Pocasset, and were held at bay until the return of the Massachusetts forces; when all marched together for concerted action against their enemies.

On July 18th the combined forces arrived at the Pocasset swamp, and made a resolute attack upon the enemy concealed in the thick underbrush, from whence at the first volley they killed five and wounded seven of our men. After this volley the enemy retreated deeper into the swamp, where it was impossible, night coming on, to follow them. The commanders in council concluded that they had the enemy now enclosed securely within the swamp, whence it was impossible to escape, if a suitable guard were left to watch. Major Savage and the Massachusetts men returned to Boston, except Capt. Henchman's company of one hundred men, who, with the Plymouth forces, remained at Pocasset. Capt. Henchman began to build a fort there, which might serve as a stronghold for the English and might guard the entrance to the great swamp.

The English were deceived by the apparent easy conquest of both the Wampanoags and Narragansets, and believed they had overawed them and set their hostility at rest, and now might take their own time in crushing Philip and thus finishing the war.

Plymouth Colony had been engaged from the first in seeking to conciliate the tribes, in their bounds, which were related to Philip. Through the efforts of Mr. Benjamin Church, a resident of Seconet, who was acquainted on pleasant terms with nearly all the tribes in the colony, negotiations were held with Awashonks the squaw-sachem of the Seconet Indians and Weetamoo the squaw-sachem or "queen" of the Pocasset tribe. Awashonks and most of her people passed over into the Narraganset country at the opening of active hostilities, and thus avoided joining Philip; but Weetamoo and her people were swept along with him in his retreat towards the Nipmuck country. Plymouth companies were abroad, too, scouting the country in the effort to protect their settlements, exposed, like Dartmouth, Middleboro', &c. They also established a garrison at Mount Hope after Philip retreated to Pocasset, to prevent his return. The entrance of Philip into the Pocasset swamps compelled the coöperation of the hesitating Weetamoo, and afforded him a safe hiding-place to recruit and prepare for his flight northward.

In the meantime the Massachusetts authorities had begun negotiations with the various Nipmuck Indians. Seven of the principal towns had been visited and treaties made with each. On July 16th Ephraim Curtis returned to Boston and reported the Quabaugs gathered at a great Island in a swamp beyond Brookfield, and showing a defiant and hostile spirit. The Council immediately sent Capt. Edward Hutchinson, escorted by Capt. Thomas Wheeler and his mounted company, with Curtis as guide, to find the Indians and bring them to terms. The company, accompanied by some friendly Naticks, arrived at Brookfield on August 1st, and immediately sent Curtis with the guides to arrange for a meeting next day. The Quabaugs, whose leader was the famous Muttamp, agreed to come next day to a plain some three miles from Brookfield to meet the

English. The next morning, the company, with three of the chief men of Brookfield, rode out to the appointed place, but found no Indians. Urged by the Brookfield men, but against the earnest remonstrance of the Naticks, they rode forward towards the place where Curtis met them the day before. But coming to a narrow defile between a high rocky hill and an impenetrable swamp, and riding single file, they found themselves caught in a great ambuscade of the Indians, who let them pass along until they were able to surround them, and then rose altogether and fired into their column at close range. They killed eight men outright and wounded five, including Capts. Hutchinson and Wheeler, the former mortally. The English were forced to retreat, fighting, up the hill; and, under the skilful conduct of their Indian guides, were able to make a safe retreat to Brookfield where they gathered the people and fortified a house just before the Indians came sweeping furiously down upon the village. Here they defended themselves against great numbers for several days, till Major Willard and Capt. Parker came with a company and reinforced the garrison, when the enemy retired.

At Pocasset, Capt. Henschman continued building his fort, and Philip was making ready for his flight. The English seem not to have contemplated the possibility of a general war, nor to have at all appreciated the gravity of the present situation in the colonies. Philip with all his fighting-men and the greater part of his own and Weetamoo's people, escaped across the river and passed through the open plain in Rehoboth, where they were discovered by some of the settlers. A scouting party from Taunton made the discovery that it was Philip's Indians who were thus escaping. The situation of affairs may be briefly stated. Capt. Henschman was guarding the swamp wherein Philip and his people were supposed to be securely trapped. Major Cudworth and Capt. Fuller were at Dartmouth with a company of one hundred and twelve men. Lieut. Nathaniel Thomas of Marshfield was at the Mount Hope garrison with twenty men. At Rehoboth a company of Mohegan Indians under Oneko, under convoy of Corporal Thomas Swift, arrived from Boston on the 30th on their way to Capt. Henschman at Pocasset. Upon the alarm, Rev. Mr. Newman, of Rehoboth, began to organize a company of volunteers for the pursuit of the Indians. Lieut. Thomas, with a small detachment, happened to come to Rehoboth on the 30th, and hearing of the escape, hastened back to carry the news to Capt. Henschman, and urge his coöperation. Lieut. Thomas then, on the 31st, took eleven men of his Mount Hope garrison, and being joined by Lieut. James Brown, of Swansy, with twelve men, marched in the pursuit. The Rehoboth men, with some volunteers from Providence and Taunton, led by the Mohegans, had started earlier upon the trail of the enemy. Lieut. Thomas and his party overtook the others at sunset, and after a brief council-of-war, sent out their scouts, Indian and English, to discover the movements of the fugi-

tives. Having found that they had encamped for the night, and apparently not suspecting pursuit, the English left their horses with a guard, and, with the Mohegans in the van, marched silently forward to a field, at a place called "Nipsachick" (said to be within the present town of Burrillville, R. I.). The night being very dark, they were forced to wait for light. At dawn they made their attack upon what proved to be Weetamoo's camp. The Indians were taken by surprise and fled, leaving everything behind them. But the Mohegans and English rushing forward found themselves confronted with Philip's fighting men entrenched behind trees and rocks ready for battle. Adopting the tactics of the enemy, the English and their allies engaged them fiercely until 9 o'clock, when still fighting desperately, but with powder nearly spent, the hostiles sullenly retired, leaving many of their dead upon the field. Some twenty-three of the enemy were killed, it is said, including a prominent chief, Woonashum, called by the English, Nimrod. Of the English, two were killed and one wounded.

Near the close of the fight, Rev. Mr. Newman and a party came up, bringing supplies. Capt. Henschman arrived after the fight, having sailed to Providence and marched up thence, with sixty-eight soldiers and sixteen friendly Indians. He immediately took command, but concluded not to push the pursuit until next day. The Rehoboth and Providence men returned home, to bring up supplies for the further pursuit. They hastened back next day with all speed, but found to their great disappointment that Capt. Henschman had not moved until that same day, giving the enemy a full day's start; and Lieut. Thomas and his party overtook him on the evening of August 3d, at a place called by them in the report, "Wapossoshequash." The enemy were beyond pursuit, a part (Weetamoo's people, except the fighting-men) having turned off into the Narraganset country, while Philip and the rest passed into the great forests beyond Quabaug. The Mohegans went to their own country on August 4th, accompanied by Lieut. Brown and a small party, to Norwich, to secure provisions and news of the enemy. After awaiting the return of this party three days, Capt. Henschman on August 7th, marched back to Mendon, meeting Capt. Mosely with a company of dragoons coming up from Providence with supplies. Next day Capt. Henschman went up to Boston, and the Rehoboth men returned home. Capt. Mosely was left in command at Mendon. Capt. Henschman was relieved of command in the field and was sent to bring off his men remaining at Pocasset. Mendon had been attacked July 14th, by a party of Nipmucks, led by Matoonas, and six or more of the settlers were killed while at work in their fields.

When the Indians returned from their siege of Brookfield, they met Philip and his people in the woods and told him of their exploit. He was greatly pleased, and gave some of the chiefs presents of wampum, and promised them fresh supplies of ammunition and

arms. The Brookfield affair had the effect of bringing in the faltering tribes, and Philip's coming confirmed the plan to clear the Connecticut Valley of English settlers. Massachusetts Colony raised several companies to protect the frontiers. Capt. Mosely with his own and Capt. Henchman's men marched from Mendon, and Capts. Thomas Lathrop of Essex County with a fine company, and Richard Beers of Watertown with another, marched to Brookfield where their forces were joined by Capt. Watts of Connecticut with two companies of English and Indians. Major Willard took command of this force, and broke it into several parties in order to better protect the several settlements. These companies were engaged in scouting the frontiers and guarding supplies sent up to the various garrisons. The Springfield Indians, hitherto pretending friendship, fled and joined the hostiles on the night of August 24; and the English, pursuing, had a sharp fight with them at a swamp near Mt. Wequomps, losing nine of their own men. The English troops were concentrated at Hadley under the general command of Major Pynchon. On Sept. 1st the Indians attacked Deerfield, burning most of the houses and killing one of the garrison soldiers, and withdrew. On the 2d they fell upon Northfield, where many of the people were abroad at work in the fields, and the women and children at the houses in the town. The assault was from all quarters at once, and many were killed in the fields and as they escaped from their houses to the garrison. The Indians burned most of their houses and drove away their cattle. On the 3d, Capt. Beers, with thirty mounted men and an ox-team, was sent to bring off the garrison of Northfield, not knowing of this attack. This force on the next day was ambushed at Saw-Mill Brook, near Northfield, and Capt. Beers and some twenty of his men were killed. Next day Major Treat with a hundred men marched up to Northfield, finding and burying the dead of Capt. Beers's company, and then bringing off the garrison. It was now decided to strengthen the garrisons and act upon the defensive. Upon Sept. 18th Capt. Lathrop with his company was sent to convoy teams bringing loads of grain from Deerfield to Hadley. A strong ambuscade was made at a place known since as "Bloody Brook," and there the Indians encompassed and massacred nearly the whole company, some eighty, including the teamsters. Only eight or ten escaped. The number killed was between sixty and seventy. Capt. Mosely came hastily from Deerfield upon hearing the shots, and engaged the great company of several hundreds of Indians, charging in amongst them with intrepid fury which drove them headlong before him into the woods and swamps; but, finding them gathering in immense numbers and seeking to surround him, he threw out his lines to prevent being flanked, and began a cautious retreat; when Major Treat coming upon the field, the Indians, seeing the reinforcements, fled.

These terrible reverses threw a gloomy, superstitious fear over

the colonies. The English troops, hitherto despising the Indians in war, now seemed helpless before them. On Sept. 26th the Indians assaulted Springfield, west of the river, burning the houses and barns. On October 5th, having made some demonstrations against Hadley, the soldiers were drawn from Springfield to strengthen the garrison; the Indians fell upon the latter village and destroyed it, before the companies could return to save it. After this blow, Major Pynchon begged the Court to appoint a commander of the forces on the river in his place, and Major Samuel Appleton was appointed, and by advice of the Council garrisoned the various towns not abandoned, and then withdrew the other troops to Boston. The Connecticut troops helped to garrison Northampton and Westfield, and the Indians withdrew to their winter camps. Philip had long since gone into winter quarters above Albany.

But now the colonies determined to strike the Narragansets in their own country before they should be able to join the hostiles. A great muster was made in three colonies, and an army of one thousand men was raised and equipped, half of which was sent from Massachusetts. The Narragansets were entrenched in a very strong position in a great swamp in what is now South Kingstown, R. I. It was claimed that great numbers of Wampanoags and other hostiles were among them finding refuge, and they were defiant and threatening. The English forces under command of Gen. Winslow of Plymouth gathered at Wickford, and on December 19th, 1675, marched some twenty miles through intense cold and a heavy snow-storm, to the swamp; the waters had been frozen by the severe cold, and this fact made it possible for the English to reach the rude fortifications. Without waiting for any organized attack, the Massachusetts troops, being at the front in the march, rushed forward across the ice in an impetuous charge, and into the entrance, where the Indians had constructed rude flankers, and placed a strong block-house in front, so that the first to enter were met with a terrible enflading fire from front and flanks, and were forced back for a time; but others coming on pressed into the breach, and, though suffering severe losses, at last stormed all the fortifications, drove the enemy from every line of entrenchments within the fort, and out into the woods and swamps beyond. They set fire to the wigwams and store-houses of the savages, in which were burned many of the aged, and women and children. Then taking their wounded, the English took up their march back through the deep snow to Wickford, where they arrived the next morning.

The details of this fight, as well as the subsequent movements and recruiting of this winter campaign, are given at length in the body of the work, and are thus briefly passed here. The Narragansets kept well out of the way of the English army, and made many pretences of negotiating peace, but at last, about January 26th, having made several daring raids into the settlements, and captured

numbers of cattle and horses, Canonchet with his strong rear-guard took up his line of retreat for the north, and two days afterwards the army, some twelve hundred strong, marched in pursuit. The Mohegans and Pequots, among the Connecticut forces, led the pursuit, and had several sharp skirmishes with the enemy, always retreating northward. This running fight was kept up for several days, until provisions having failed and no base of supplies possible, the General abandoned the pursuit and marched his troops to Marlborough and thence to Boston. The men suffered severely in this march, from hunger, and it was known for several generations as the "hungry march."

The Connecticut forces separated from the others on February 3d, and the main body of the army arrived in Boston on the 8th and were dismissed. A company under command of Capt. Wadsworth was left at Marlborough to guard the frontiers and neighboring towns. Canonchet and his great and warlike Narraganset tribe, maddened by what they believed their wrongs, and thirsting for vengeance, were now joined with Philip and the other hostile tribes, and all within an easy day's call, except Philip and his band who still remained in their retreat beyond Albany. The time was critical for the settlements; prompt action was necessary on the part of the Indian leaders, to keep their young men in courage and training. Upon February 10th the Indians in great force fell upon Lancaster, and nearly destroyed the town. They killed or took captive fifty of the people. Among the captives was Mrs. Rowlandson, wife of the minister. One garrison-house was saved by the arrival of Capt. Wadsworth and his company from Marlborough. On February 21st a strong body of the enemy surprised Medfield, although a large force of soldiers was then in the town. There were no guards set, nor other precautions taken. The soldiers were scattered about in the houses, and the Indians placed ambuscades in front of each house, and shot them down as they rushed out upon the alarm. The enemy were frightened away by the firing of a cannon, and crossed the river, burning the bridge behind them. Another army was now raised and sent out to the Connecticut River towns, to protect them, and try to bring the enemy to battle. There were said to be two great fortified camps; one near the "Wachusett Hill," and the other at Menameset, beyond Brookfield. The army was under command of Major Thomas Savage, and consisted of three foot companies and a troop of horse from Massachusetts. Connecticut sent several companies of English and friendly Indians. A number of Christian Indians from the Naticks went with Major Savage. The army marched to Menameset, March 2d-4th, to find the enemy gone. They pursued them to Miller's River, across which they escaped. It was thought that this great body of the enemy would now fall upon the western towns, so that the army marched thither, abandoning the design upon "Wachusett Hill" encampment. Major Savage dis-

posed his forces to guard the towns. On March 14th an attack was made upon Northampton, but was repulsed with severe loss to the enemy. On the 24th they appeared at Hatfield, but finding it well garrisoned made no attack, though driving off some horses and cattle. The Indians began to prepare for planting fields along the river; and Canonchet with a body of his men went back to their country to bring up seed-corn, of which large quantities were there stored. It is probable that a large company went towards Plymouth colony, a small party of whom destroyed the house and family of Mr. Clarke at Plymouth village. March 17th they burned Warwick. Plymouth Colony sent out a company of fifty under Capt. Michael Peirse of Marshfield, to protect its frontiers. A party of twenty friendly Indians under "Capt. Amos" was joined with Capt. Peirse. This company marched to Seekonk, and there had a sharp skirmish with the Indians on the evening of March 25th. Next day, supposing they had beaten the Indians, they pursued them and were drawn into an ambush and surrounded near Patuxit River with great numbers, so that they were obliged to fight to the death. The whole company, including the officers, were killed, together with eight out of the twenty Indians. The enemy, too, lost very heavily. March 28th and 29th the Indians burned seventy houses and thirty barns at Providence.

In the meantime in Massachusetts the enemy were not idle. Lurking parties hovered about Groton, plundering the vacated houses, and driving away any stray cattle within safe reach. On March 13th they fell upon the town in force. The people were gathered in five garrison-houses. One of the garrison-houses was captured, but the people mostly escaped to another. The other garrison-houses were stoutly defended. The Indians burned the unfortified houses and withdrew. On March 26th, the fatal day of Capt. Peirse's destruction, they burned sixteen houses and thirteen barns at Marlborough. Capt. Brocklebank, then in command at Marlborough, sent out a party in pursuit, who overtook and surprised the enemy at night sleeping about their fires, fired into their midst and put them to flight. On the same day, at Longmeadow, a party going to Springfield to church was ambushed by a small company of Indians, and several were captured and killed.

Finding the campaign to have failed in its main object, the Council ordered Major Savage to withdraw his troops, leaving Capt. Wm. Turner, with a hundred and fifty men, to garrison the towns. April 7th the army marched homeward.

But now the Connecticut authorities, fearing a return of the Narragansets to their vicinity, in numbers such as overwhelmed Capt. Peirse, mustered a mixed company of English and Indians, and sent them into the Narraganset country under command of Capts. Denison and Avery. These, guided by a captive whom they had taken, surprised and captured Canonchet not far from the Patuxit river,

where he was encamped with a few of his men, while the great body were scattered, scouting and foraging. He was soon after executed by Oneko, by the judgment of the English authorities. The death of Canonchet was really the death-blow of the war, for he was the real leader of all active operations at this time. Philip was still the chief instigator, however, and now more than before, became, for the time, the controlling mind of a larger number than ever before. There were dissensions, however, and many of the chiefs began to murmur and some to threaten against him as the cause of all their troubles. Some of the river tribes began to show signs of weakening, and proposed negotiations with the English. Philip withdrew to the strong-hold near Wachuset with such as adhered to him, and with Quinnapin, and such of the Narragansets as followed him. The Indians were still active, and watched every chance to strike a blow. They came to Marlborough on April 18th and burned the abandoned houses of the settlers. Capt. Brocklebank commanded the garrison there and refused to be drawn out into the ambuscades, which, before the burning, the Indians had set. On April 20th they crept down and encompassed the town of Sudbury. On that day Capt. Wadsworth marched up from Boston with a company of fifty men, passed through Sudbury, and doubtless the lines of the enemy, without any knowledge of their vicinity. He was forcing his march to relieve the garrison at Marlborough, where they arrived about midnight on the 20th, and without delay leaving their recruits, took those relieved to come home, including Capt. Brocklebank, and came back towards Sudbury. The great numbers of Indians had encompassed the town, and in the morning of the 21st began to burn outlying houses, to draw out the inhabitants from the garrison. They soon made a furious and persistent attack on Haines's garrison from morning till mid-day, but were beaten off, until rumors of reinforcements from various quarters caused them to withdraw to meet these. Edward Cowell and eighteen troopers coming to the relief of Sudbury were attacked, but escaped with only four killed, they turned back, suspecting the ambush laid for them. Capt. Wadsworth soon after arrived by another road, and meeting with an outpost of the enemy rushed forward to engage them, and, as usual, they soon found themselves surrounded by great numbers, and were forced to a position on a hill, where most of the company fell fighting, including Capts. Wadsworth, Brocklebank and Lieut. Sharpe. Some sixteen of the company managed to escape to a mill, and there defended themselves until relieved. A company from Watertown arrived soon after Capt. Wadsworth, and crossing the river, made a brave attempt to get to the hill to join him in his desperate fight, but were nearly surrounded themselves and forced to retire. Capt. Hunting with a company of Christian Indians and a squad of troopers arrived from Charlestown late in the afternoon, in time to rescue the men at the mill. After this fight, in which

they struck such a terrible blow, and so close to Boston, too, they seem to have retired to their several camps, and soon to have gathered to their great fishing-places in order to take the run of fish. Capt. Turner was still in command of the garrisons at the west. From captives who had escaped, and scouts here and there, came rumors of a great company of Indians fishing at the "Upper Falls" of the Connecticut. Capt. Turner and his officers were anxious to strike a blow against the enemy, and Connecticut authorities were applied to, and promised speedy reinforcements. On May 12th the Indians made a raid into Deerfield meadows and stampeded some seventy head of cattle belonging to the English. Roused by this fresh outrage, the people urged retaliation, and Capt. Turner and his officers determined to attack the Indians at their great fishing place at once. On May 18th the whole company of soldiers and volunteers, about one hundred and fifty, mustered at Hatfield, and marched out at evening towards the "Falls." They eluded the outposts of the enemy, and at daylight arrived undiscovered at the camp of the Indians at the fishing-place. The savages were asleep in their wigwams, and the English rushed down upon them and shot them by scores, pointing their muskets in through the wigwam doors. No resistance was possible, and those who escaped the first fire fled in terror to the river, pursued by the soldiers and were cut down or driven into the water without mercy; many were drowned attempting to cross the river.

But it was soon found that there were several other great bodies of the Indians, above and below the Falls on both sides of the river, and these began to swarm towards the fight. Capt. Turner now prudently began a retreat, having struck his blow. As the soldiers retired the enemy gathered in great numbers upon rear and flanks, seeking to force the English into narrow defiles. Capt. Holyoke commanded the rear-guard, and checked the enemy by stout fighting, but for which, it is likely, the whole command would have been lost. Capt. Turner led the advance, and while crossing Green River was shot down by Indians lying in wait. Capt. Holyoke then led the company back to Hatfield, fighting nearly the whole way. There the killed and missing numbered forty-five. A few came in afterwards, reducing the number of the lost to about forty. It is estimated that some two hundred Indians must have been destroyed.

The blow struck by Capt. Turner greatly intimidated the enemy, though the retreat was so disastrous to the English. The tribes became divided and demoralized. They seem to have broken up into small wandering parties. Philip with large numbers of his adherents went down towards Plymouth. Massachusetts sent troops to the western frontiers again, and also to aid Plymouth. The operations in the field were mostly the pursuit of non-combatants, the aged, and women and children. Large numbers of the Wampa-

noags and Narragansets had now returned with Philip to their own country. Small parties from time to time plundered and killed as opportunity offered. The colonists were roused to new activity at the evident weakening of the Indians. Aid was sent to Plymouth, under Capts. Brattle and Mosely; and Capt. Henchman did good service in the parts about Brookfield. Major Talcott, with a mixed force of English and Indians, about five hundred in all, came up the river and marched into Hadley about the 11th of June, and was quartered there on the 12th, when the Western Indians, some seven hundred strong, made their last great assault in force in these parts. The town was quite strongly garrisoned besides this reinforcement, of which probably the enemy knew nothing. The attack was altogether unexpected and was furious and determined, but the repulse was decided and sanguinary. Major Talcott then led his force down into the Narraganset country, where, about the 2d of July, he encountered a great body of Indians, and driving them into the woods and swamps slew great numbers, and took many captives. The plight of the savages was pitiful; without ammunition, without leadership, without country or hope of any sort, they found no mercy now at the hands of their olden foes, the Mohegans and Pequots, nor yet the English.

The remaining operations of the war in these parts were simply the hunting down of almost defenceless enemies. The colonial authorities issued a proclamation, calling all those Indians who had been engaged in the war to come in and surrender, submitting themselves to the judgment of the English courts. Many parties sought to take advantage of this, but were captured upon their approach by scouting parties, and treated as captives. Some of those who had been prominent in the war and could not hope for mercy, escaped to the eastward and put themselves under the protection of Wannalancet and his Pennacooks, who had remained neutral. Some fled further to the east, and there incited war.

The constant success which the Connecticut troops had always had after their use of the Mohegans and Pequots, was a plain rebuke to the Massachusetts colonists for the numerous disasters from which the Christian Indians might have saved them, if they had trusted and employed them. As soon as Capt. Hunting and his Indian company were put in the field, this appeared. The Indians in small parties skulking in woods and swamps might have eluded English soldiers for years, but as soon as other Indians were employed, escape was impossible.

At the close of July, many of Philip's followers had been taken, and his wife and several of his chief men were captives or had been killed. With a small band of his followers he was hiding in the swamps at Mounthope and Pocasset. English scouting parties were active in all parts of the colonies hunting down the trembling and unresisting fugitives; and especially Philip. Benjamin Church

was among the most active in hunting and bringing in the Indians, and when one of Philip's men came to betray his chief, he found Mr. Church at Major Sanford's in Rhode Island with his scouting party of English and Indians a short distance away. Upon the news of Philip's hiding-place and the offer of the Indian to lead thither, Mr. Church gathered as many as he could enlist in addition to his party, and, under the lead of the Indian deserter (who acted, it is said, from motives of revenge for his brother's death, by Philip's hand, because he advised him to make peace with the English), the party marched with great secrecy to Mounthope. Mr. Church arranged his attack with skill, and came upon Philip's party unguarded and asleep, and Philip springing up and attempting to escape to the swamp near by, was confronted with two of Mr. Church's guards, an Englishman and an Indian. The Englishman's gun missed fire, but the Indian, named "Alderman," immediately fired and shot the great chief through the breast, so that he fell forward into the water of the swamp, upon his face, dead. Philip was killed August 12th, 1676. Weetamoo's party, the sad remnant of her tribe, had been captured on the 7th, and she, trying to escape across a river, was drowned, and, her body being found, her head was cut off and paraded in the public streets. In the body of the papers, by a strange continuance of an old mistake, this fact is accredited to Awashonks, squaw sachem of the Sogkonates.

After Philip's death, his chief counsellor, Annawon, led the rest of the party out of the swamp and escaped. With his party he soon after surrendered to Mr. Church. The death of Philip was practically the close of the war, though hostilities continued for some time after, and at the eastward for a year or more longer. At Dover Major Richard Walderne had held command of the military interests and operations in those parts. He was a trusted friend of Wannalancet and the neighboring Indians. Under the proclamation the old chief and his people came in without fear, as they had taken no part whatever in the war. There were many Indians with them, however, it was suspected, who had been among the hostiles and now wished to come in with the Pennacooks and secure the advantages of their influence in giving themselves up. They began to come in at Dover about the first of September, and when, on the 6th, the companies, sent to the eastward under Capt. Hathorn, arrived at Dover, there were some four hundred there, including the Pennacooks. In some way the immediate surrender of all these was received, probably by Major Walderne's great influence with them. They were then disarmed, and as the Massachusetts officers insisted upon treating all as prisoners of war, Major Walderne was obliged to send all, save Wannalancet and his "relations," down to Boston to be tried there by the Court. The number sent was about two hundred.

Some of the Southern Indians, having lost all except their own

lives, passed to the Eastern tribes and were active in exciting to hostility. The local Indians had been hostile the previous year, committing depredations from the Kennebec to Portsmouth. In the summer of 1676, it is thought that many who had been among the Indians in the war, came to these tribes and caused much of the trouble which ensued. The day before Philip's death the Indians fell upon the settlers at Falmouth, and killed or carried away some thirty-four persons and burned their houses. Further eastward also the settlements were attacked. It was upon these occasions that Capt. Hathorn's force was sent to these parts. They marched on from Dover on September 8th, as far as Falmouth, Capt. Hunting's Indians scouting the woods. This expedition was not of much avail, as the Indians easily eluded the troops, being only war parties without the encumbrance of women and children.

But the scope of this review of events did not contemplate the detailed account of affairs which have already been related in the body of the work, but to give a consecutive account for the convenience of readers.

This volume, it is understood, is a reprint of thirty-three articles upon the subject title, which have appeared consecutively in the past nine years, in the NEW-ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER.

The first number, including the prefatory note on pages 1 and 2, though not arranged satisfactorily, is allowed to stand as originally prepared and published.

If the book meets with the approval, and serves helpfully the researches, of his fellow laborers in the same field, the author will feel that his work is justified and amply rewarded.

SOLDIERS IN KING PHILIP'S WAR.

TO the readers of the REGISTER it is probably well known that but few published data exist from which it is possible to gather the names of those soldiers who served the Massachusetts Colony in the Indian war of 1675-8, known as "King Philip's War." No part of our history seems to me more important, in no part have occurred events more thrilling, in no time has been displayed heroism of higher order, and yet there is no part concerning which so little is accurately known. It seems to me of great moment, therefore, that everything, especially of official and statistical nature, that can be found, bearing upon the matter, should be gathered and preserved.

Having become acquainted some time since with the original Journal and Ledger of Mr. John Hull, Treasurer-at-war, and afterwards Treasurer of Massachusetts Colony, I have conceived that a careful collation of the data therein contained may throw much valuable light upon this period. Under the head of "Military Service" are credited all who served in the war, and these items give not only the names of the soldiers but their rank, the officers under whom they served, and, in case the officers' names are omitted, the garrisons or towns or places at which their service was rendered. A diligent comparison of these items, with debits of cash, arms, clothing and assignments of pay, together with dates and amounts, may, I trust, afford a fairly accurate account of the men in the service, their officers, the service at the different garrisons, and much information besides which will help other departments of our local history as well as this of the Indian war.

But that which I have particularly in hand is an attempt to restore, so far as possible, the Rolls of the Companies raised by the Colony of Massachusetts. I am aware of the few fragmentary lists

already rescued and published in the REGISTER, and also in the excellent book of E. W. Pierce, of Freetown, Mass., as well as a few unofficial lists elsewhere. These mostly pertain to the Narragansett fight in December, 1675, and later; whereas the Journal is from the commencement of the levying of troops, June 24th. It is proposed in these papers to adhere strictly to the letter of the actual records; extra matter, comments, &c., will be put in foot notes or in the text apart from the lists. The names, however, of those who served under one officer or at one place, will be put consecutively under that name or place. Thus the credits under Capt. Daniel HENCHMAN during a period of 15 months (the period covered by this Journal), are all collected from date to date under his name. It will be remembered that the troops were not Regulars, and were only in service so long as occasion required, and were called together and disbanded at the pleasure of the Court; and so those who served under Capt. HENCHMAN in the summer campaign from June to August, 1675, were disbanded, and for the most part may be found, in the Narragansett campaign, either under new officers or at home about their various employments, while others took their turn at the war. Many were engaged continually under different officers and at the garrisons. The above remarks apply more to the foot companies; the cavalry or "Troope" force was more regularly constituted.

NO. I.

CAPT. HENCHMAN'S COMPANY.

A brief survey of the state of affairs in Boston on June 24th, 1675, when news of the attack of the Indians on Swansea, and Plymouth Colony's appeal for aid, arrived, may be in place here, especially as in Massachusetts Records there is nothing relating to the matter from the adjournment of the Court on May 12 until it was called together on July 19th. It is to be regretted that the records are lost, as we know many important meetings were held in this time. I insert the following fragments, preserved in Mass. Archives, vol. 67, as testimony of the energy which the Court displayed in answering the appeal of the sister colony.

The following is a portion of a letter from the General Court of Massachusetts Colony to Plymouth Colony, in answer to her appeal for assistance :

June 24. 1675.

Hon^d S^r According to what I writ you yesterday we are now convened in Council to Consider of your desire of a supply of some men from hence and we have resolved to rayse one hundred foote and 50 horse that shall be speedily upon their march towards Swansey . . . and for the furtherance and better management &c we have commissioned our faithful friend Major Thomas Savage &c. . . .

[June 24, 1675.] "Att a meeting of the General Court on the 24. June 1675. Ordered that the Secretary issue out a warrant to the Constable of Boston to Impress forthwith five Able and Special horses for the service of the country, and that Capt Savage and Capt Oliver have charge of them, and their men each of them one."

"Capt Richard is voted to goe forth in this Expedition (who shamefully refused the Employment).¹

"Capt Daniel Henchman was chosen and voted to goe forth as Capt of 100 men for the service of this Colony on y^e designe to goe to Plymouth Col^y."

"Capt Thomas Prentice is appointed to be Capt of the Horse."

"To the Militia of the town of Boston, Cha. Camb. Watertown, Roxbury, Dorchester, Dedham, Brantrey, Weymouth, Hingham, Maulden—You are hereby required in his Majesty's name to take notice that the Gov^r & Council have ordered 100 able souldjers forthwith impressed out of the severall Towns according to the proportions hereunder written for the aid and assistance of our confederate Plymouth in the designe afoote ag^t the Indians, and accordingly you are to warne af^{sd} proportions to be ready at an hours warning from Capt Daniel Henchman who is appointed Captain and Commander of the Foote Company that each souldjer shal have his armes compleat and Snapsack ready to march and not faile to be at the rendezvous."

"To the Committee of ——"

"The Council is adjourned till tomorrow at 8 of the Clock at Roxbury."
E. R. Sec'y. (i. e. Edward Rawson, Secretary.)

The special commission of Capt. Henchman for this service is also in the Archives, vol. 67.

To D. H. Capt. with the Consent of the Councill for the Colony of Mass. in New England.

"Whereas you are apoynted Capt of a foote Company to Serve in this Expedition for the assistance of our neighbors of Plimouth against the insolences and outrages of the natives, these are to wil and require you to take charge of the said Company of foote, mounted as dragoons, & you are to command and instruct your inferior officers and souldgers according to military rules for the service and safty of the Country, and you to attend

¹ This parenthesis is added by another hand. This captain was John Richard, of the 6th Company, and as he was afterwards a trusted officer in the colony, probably the Court did not agree with the remark of the anonymous writer.

such orders from tyme to tyme as you shal receyve from your superior Commanders on the Council of this Colony."

Past 25 June 1675

E. R. Secy

Signed by y^e Gov^r

Daniel Henchman appears in Boston as early as March, 1666, when he was employed at a salary of £40 per annum "to assist Mr Woodmaney in the Grammar Schoole and teach the childere to wright"; was on a committee with Capts. Gookin, Prentice and Beers, to lay out "the new Plantation at Quandsigamond Ponds" (now Worcester), and settle its affairs, in 1667. He was thereafter the chief manager in that settlement, and received the largest number of acres in the first division. He was admitted freeman in 1672, was appointed captain of 5th Boston Company Colonial Militia, May 12, 1675, and commissioned for the special expedition, as above. He is seen to have been one of the most trusted officers of the Court. For an account of his family, see Savage's Genealogical Dictionary, Lincoln's History of Worcester, and Drake's note in History and Antiquities of Boston, page 647. He died at Worcester, where with his son Nathaniel he was settling the affairs of the new town, in May, 1685. His posterity have ever held an honorable place in this commonwealth. The name appears in various forms, as Hinksman, Hincksman, Hinchman, &c.

In the following list of names it is probable that nearly all were the men "impressed," as by the above order of the Council. Many of the names will doubtless be recognized as from Boston and other adjacent towns. Any attempt to classify by towns, however, would be necessarily from outside material and partially guess-work, and furthermore many of these names occur again under other captains later on, so that such attempt might seem premature. The pages of the Journal, after the first half of the 1st up to the 14th, are gone from the book, but fortunately the Ledger covering this gap is complete, and I have from that been able to restore the Journal entire."

There are three books preserved. The Journal, covering the time from June 25, 1675, to September 23, 1676. A Ledger, on which is posted on double pages about half the matter in the Journal. This Ledger must have had originally about 600 pages. It now contains only 221. A later Ledger has been preserved covering the years 1677 and 78 in part. There is evidence that a Blotter was used in the set, but is now lost with several other journals and ledgers. The Journal was discovered by Mr. Isaac Child, in the possession of Dr. Daniel Gilbert, who kindly transferred it to the society.

The Journal was rebound, repaired and indexed with much care and patience by Mr. Child in the year 1848, and now it has to be used with the utmost care, being much dilapidated by neglect before it came to the safe of the society.

John Hull's system of book-keeping was a sort of double-entry, or a "mixed method." It was very exhaustive, giving to every department of the colony's transactions a separate ledger account, as well as to every person mentioned in the Journal. Some of these accounts are of interest as curiosities, such as "Bisket," "Ammunition," "Wast-Coats and Drawers," "Liquors," "Tobaco & pipes," "Wounded-men," "Contingencies," "Woolves," "Captives," "Distressed Dutchmen," "Quakers," "Scalpes," "Perquisites," "Queries." These last two may suggest the idea that some of his forms of account might have been kept up with profit to the government.

As to the spelling of the names below, I have not departed in the least from the original. It must be remembered that the names were entered in the Journal from "Debentures" made by the clerks of companies, and the names at the first were entered on the company rolls as each man was understood to pronounce his own name, and unless the clerk was acquainted with the name he spelled it by the easiest method; hence many strange variations appear. The Ledger account often has two forms for the same name.

The list of Soldiers credited with Military Service under Capt. Daniel Henchman.

August 20, 1675.

Thomas Burges.	02 06 02	John Bull.	00 16 02
John Hills.	00 06 00	Richard Brooks.	02 00 00
John Lewis.	01 14 03	John Barrett.	01 10 00
John Angel.	01 15 02	Joseph Fiske.	01 10 00
Benjamin Negus.	01 15 02	Joseph Tucker.	02 05 00
John Chapman.	02 02 00	Israel Smith.	00 12 00
Robert Smith.	02 02 00	Samuel Ireson.	01 10 00
William Manly. ²	02 08 00	August 21 1675	
Thomas Irons.	02 07 00	James Dichetto. ⁴	00 15 00
Samuel Perkins.	02 07 00	Jacob Gully.	01 14 06
Hugh Taylor.	02 07 00	Isaac Ratt.	02 04 06
David Jones.	02 07 00	Samuel Veze (als. Very)	02 07 00
James Whippo. ³	02 07 00	Samuel Daniel.	02 07 00
Theophilus Thornton.	02 07 00	John Kemble.	02 07 00
Nathaniel Osborne.	02 07 00	John Russell.	02 07 00
Samuel Davis.	02 07 00	Simon Groveling.	02 07 00
Henry Kerby.	02 07 00	John Thorne.	02 07 00
Ephraim Hall.	01 07 00	Charles Dampport. ⁵	01 06 06
Richard Gibson.	02 07 00	Benjamin Bishop.	02 07 00
Thomas Williams.	02 07 00	John Throp. ⁶	02 07 00
Joseph Ford.	00 06 10	Solomon Watts.	02 07 00
Samuel Walles.	01 06 06	Philip Coker.	02 07 00
William Bently.	02 07 00	John Jeffries.	02 07 00
Peter Edgerton.	01 15 00	Robert Wills.	02 07 00

² Was alive in April, 1735. Claimed his Narragansett right in person.

³ Probably from Barnstable, where the name was Whipple, but called Whippo in Boston.

⁴ Elsewhere Dickenden and Dighenton. More of him hereafter.

⁵ The name was often written Danforth or Davenport.

⁶ And several times written Thorp and Throppe.

Isaac Morris.	02 07 00	Enoch Greenleaf, ⁸ <i>Lieut.</i>	04 10 00
Nicholas Weymouth.	02 07 00	Samuel Johnson.	03 07 00
Nathaniel Jewell.	02 07 00	William Drew.	02 07 00
Samuel Mirick.	01 04 00	William Hardin.	01 04 06
William Parham.	02 08 00	John Cray.	01 19 04
Thomas Roberts.	02 04 06	Nathaniel Fiske.	01 13 06
<i>August 27th or Ledger date 23^d</i>		John Miller.	00 06 00
John Hubbard.	02 07 00	John King.	01 11 00
John Tebb.	02 07 00	James Ogleby.	00 07 08
Henry Timberlake. <i>Sergt</i>	02 00 00	Rowland Soley.	01 19 04
Thomas Hitchborn. <i>Drum^r</i>	01 11 00	Thomas Region.	01 19 04
John Taylor. <i>Sergt.</i>	02 01 10	Thomas Hincer.	01 04 00
Thomas Bishop.	00 18 00	Joseph Smith	01 19 04
Peter Bennett, <i>Marshall.</i>	01 16 00	Thomas Aliston	02 07 00
Simeon Messenger.	01 04 00	George Burkback	01 19 04
John Polly.	01 04 00	Daniel Mageniz.	01 19 04
John Essery.	02 07 00	Henry Eliott.	01 04 10
Henry Harvard. <i>Sergt.</i>	03 01 00	Thomas Okerby	01 19 04
Samuel Barber.	00 16 00	John Hastings	01 04 10
Phillip Jessop.	01 06 06	Edward Weeden	01 19 04
Charles Blincott. ⁷ <i>Sergt.</i>	02 14 00	John Wiseman	03 03 06
Isaac Amsden.	02 07 00	<i>Sept 14th</i>	
Henry Prentice.	02 07 00	Joseph Priest.	01 05 08
John Streeter.	02 07 00	Nathaniel King.	02 02 10
Abraham Hathaway.	02 07 00	John Pemberton.	01 01 00
James Johnson. <i>Sergt</i>	03 03 00	Osbel Morrison.	02 19 00
Isaac How.	01 11 08	John Cross	01 06 06
Thomas Parker.	01 04 00	Perez Savage. <i>Ensigne</i>	02 08 00
Joseph Pierce.	01 04 00	Roger Procer. ⁹	01 04 10
John Oates.	02 00 00	Robert Orchard. <i>Sergt</i>	02 01 00
William Hopkins.	01 10 00	<i>September 21, 1675</i>	
Ralph Hall, <i>Clark</i>	03 10 00	David Church.	01 17 08
Thomas Wigfall, <i>Ensigne</i>	03 02 04	Samuel Johnson, <i>Butcher</i>	01 05 08
Richard Bennet.	02 07 00	Thomas Traine.	00 10 04
John Scopelin.	00 07 00	Ebenezer Owen.	00 05 00
<i>September 3^d 1675</i>		Matthew Stone.	00 07 00
Josiah Arnold.	01 15 02	Nathaniel Kean.	01 04 10
W ^m Smallidge.	01 19 04	Benjamin Tower.	00 10 04
John Bucknam.	01 19 04	Jonathan Dunning.	01 17 06

These above written 121 names I judge to be the company that served in this campaign with Capt. Henehman. "Rank and File" included Privates and Corporals; Commissioned Officers and Sergeants, Clerk, Drummer, and Servants, were not included.

This company, as we learn from the old historians, marched out to Dedham to the Neponset river, together with Capt. Prentice's troop, and halted during the eclipse of the moon which occurred on

⁷ Often written Blinco and Blinko.

⁸ If Mr. Drake is right in supposing Capt. Henehman's lieutenant was the "certain officer" referred to by Capt. Church, then this was the man. The person's name has hitherto been unknown.

⁹ Often written Prosser.

that evening, lasting about an hour, then forward to "Woodcock's" (now Attleborough), where they arrived in the morning, and waited until P. M. of the 27th. Capt. Moseley's "Volunteers" then overtook them, and all three companies marched to Swanzy, arriving there on the P.M. of the 28th, and quartered near Mr. Miles's house. On the 29th, Maj. Thomas Savage, commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts forces, arrived with his company and the Troop of Capt. Nicholas Paige. Capt. Henchman's men were engaged in the movements through Mount Hope, and scouting about the country until July 4th, when they marched back to headquarters at Swanzy. At a council of war, July 5th, in consequence of orders received from Boston by hand of Capt. Hutchinson, it was determined to march all the Massachusetts forces into the Narragansett country; accordingly the next ten days were spent in the march thither, and the treaty with the Sachems. During this time the Plymouth forces under Cudworth, Fuller and Church were pursuing Philip into Pocasset, and Church hastened over and "borrowed"¹⁰ three files of Henchman's men and his lieutenant,¹¹ to assist in the enterprise. On July 15 all the Massachusetts forces marched to Rehoboth, on the 16th to Mattapoisett, on the 17th to Taunton, and on the 18th to Pocasset Swamp, where they immediately attacked the Indians, and five English were killed and seven wounded. Owing to the darkness our forces withdrew. It was decided to withdraw all the Massachusetts forces except Capt. Henchman's company, which remained with the Plymouth forces at Pocasset. Maj. Savage, Capts. Paige and Mosely marched back to Boston, and Capt. Prentice with his troop scouted towards Mendon. It was determined to build a fort at Pocasset and "starve Philip out." But near the end of July Philip escaped by water, either wading at low tide or "wafting" on rafts, and passed into the Nipmuck country, abandoning about one hundred of their women and children in the swamp. Capt. Henchman appears not to have known of Philip's escape until news was brought him from the mainland on July 29th, 30th, &c. Letters to him from Rev. Noah Newman and Peter Hunt, of Rehoboth, which were enclosed by him in one of his own to the Governor, which I have copied here, are preserved in the Mass. Archives, vol. 67. In itself it is the best explanation of this time at hand. Fort Leverett was at Pocasset, built by Capt. H.'s company and named for the governor.

Letter of Capt. Daniel Henchman to the Governor.

Hon^d Sr.

Fort Leverett, July 31, 1675.

Since my last (of the 28th) the Generall¹² the 29th day landed here one hundred men, his designe to releev Dartmouth being as reported in some distress; Past nine of the clock last night Lt Thomas brought me the two

¹⁰ I suppose these must have been left at Mount Hope garrison.

¹¹ Enoch Greenleaf. See note ^s above.

¹² Gen. James Cudworth.

first enclosed letters from Rehoboth and Mr James Brown with him to press my going thither, which with what strength I could was yeilded to, (I having just finished the South East flanker of the fort so farr as to be a good defence for my men) drew my company together by a false alarm in the night, some being at a distance getting stockadoes; and provided for our March before day taking six files with me and the 17 Indians (all now left) and leaving five files behind to be going on with the work, and the Brigandine; About 11 of the clock a second post came to acquaint me with the third enclosed letter. Mr Brown and the L^t being gon to endeavour the giving of notice to the Gen^l to Warwick and the Narragansett Indians to head Philip, At break I shipped my men in a sloop for Seaconk and while under sail Mr Almie brought word that one Dan. Stanton of the Island at his returne yesterday from Dartmouth affirms that severall parties of Indians with their armes to the number of about 80 surrendered themselves to that garrison for mercie, who have secured them in an Island by them. After my Company was lauded within two miles of Seaconk before all were on shore an other letter came to me from L^t Thomas Advising to land at Providence being nearer to the enemy, I strait remanded my men on bord, gave each one 3 biscakes, a fish and a few raisons with ammunition which may last two or three days, I make bould to encloss to coppies of the letters sent least anything in my whurry might be omitted; The Lord preserve and spirite you still for this his worke; My humble service to all those worthies with you; I would gladly know of y^r Hon^{rs} welfare; and begg the prayers of all to God to qualifie me for my present imploy; being the unfittest of many yet pardon my confused lines being begun at my Quarters and patched vp in several places

Honrd S^r

Y^r Hon^{rs} Humble Servant

D. HENCHMAN.

The above letter was written evidently on the passage to Seaconk and Providence. He landed at P. next morning and marched twenty miles in pursuit of the Indians before he came up with the Plymouth forces and the Monhegans, who had been sent to him from Boston, but had been met by the Rehoboth men and persuaded to join them in the pursuit of Philip; these had come up with Philip's rear, and had a sharp fight before Capt. H. arrived. The Monhegans were now passed to his command, and the troops being wearied with the long march bivouacked till morning, and the Plymouth forces returned to Rehoboth, leaving to Capt. HENCHMAN the further pursuit of Philip, which was renewed next morning. With his six files (consisting of 68 men), the 50 Monhegans and the 17 Naticks, Capt. H. marched into the Nipmuck country as far as the "second fort," to a place called *Wapososhequish*, August 3, but without finding Philip, and having continued the pursuit until provisions were exhausted and all were tired out to no purpose, the Monhegans returned to their home, and Capt. H. marched his force to Mendon, meeting Capt. Mosely with 60 dragoons on the way with supplies. Aug. 8, Capt. HENCHMAN went down to Boston to get orders from the Governor and Council, and left most if not all his men at Mendon. (Aug. 16th a part of them were in charge of Capt. Mosely,

12 of whom were detailed to Chelmsford garrison by him.) Capt. Henchman received his instructions for future proceedings in a letter from Gen. Daniel Denison, commander-in-chief of Massachusetts Forces, given August 9th, 1675. This letter commanded him in brief to return to his men left at Pocasset, to fetch them and the "provisions and ammunition" off. He was to advertise the Plymouth commander of this design, and if said commander wished him to remain there, to await further orders from the Council; otherwise to turn over the fort to the care of the Plymouth forces, and march his men to Boston and disband them until again called out by the Council. In his march to Pocasset he was given authority to press horses and guides, or require them of the various constables of the towns passed, and on his return likewise. On his return he was to draw off the Massachusetts "souldjers" at Woodcock's garrison, and also at Mr. Hudson's house, unless he should deem it unsafe, Hudson "being of our colony whom we are to take care of." Plymouth colony preferred to take charge of the fort, and Capt. Henchman brought his soldiers home to Boston as commanded.

Oct 5 1675		Edward Dickinson.	
Richard Wood.	00 10 04	Jacob Bullard.	01 18 06
Ephraim Willer, <i>Corp</i> ^l	02 05 00	Samuel Whitney.	01 18 06
Thomas May.	01 19 04	John Shattock.	01 02 00
Michael Bearstow.	00 10 04	Daniel Keniday.	01 17 08
Thomas Webb.	01 19 04		

I am at loss to determine upon what occasion these soldiers in the above list served. There was intensely bitter feeling about this time in Boston as to the way captive Indians should be treated. The intercession of the venerable John Eliot and the strenuous advocacy of Capt. Gookin in their behalf, had created great animosity not only against themselves but all who advised moderate measures. Capt. Henchman seems to have been of the moderate party, and was therefore somewhat unpopular with most of the soldiers, and doubtless his apparent lack of success in the pursuit of Philip at Rehoboth added to this feeling with the people. But the court sustained and trusted him, and immediately reappointed him to service over 100 men who met at Roxbury meeting-house, but refused to march forth under his command, and demanded Capt. Oliver. The council compromised the matter and sent them Capt. Lake, but they are not credited with any service under him. Capt. Henchman seems to have been employed in August and September in regulating affairs in some of the outlying towns, and these men perhaps served as his patrol or guard. September 27th we find him at Chelmsford garrison in command, as we see by the following letter of that date.

Capt. Henchman's Letter to the Governor.

Chelmsford Sept 27, '75 [This was Monday].

Hon^d S^r

In pursuance of my instructions; I and my Lieut. met at Major Willard's¹³ the last day of the week,¹⁴ with the Capitaines of the severall townes directed to; as well for the drawing of the Souldiers, as to advise with them; for the first they promise they shall be sent to chelmsford at an hours warning and so will be ready here by that time I have provission for them; and that of absolue necessity for them will be powder shott biscake cheese and raisons, large and warme Wast-coats and drawers tobacco, some hatchets and a Chirurgion; for the later the Major and rest of the officers will advise to no other motion than about this and other townes; but I understanding the intent of the Ho^d Council to be that I should march to Pen-ycooke although not named in my instructions; I think it need full to acquaint your Hon^{rs} there with, and desire your express there unto. I have not further at present but to subscribe

S^r your Hon^{rs} humble Servant

(Mass. Archives, vol. 67, 269.)

D. HENCHMAN.

November 1, Capt. Henchman marched out of Boston towards Hassanameset (Grafton) with a small body of men (20), and arrived at Medfield at 3 P.M. on the same day. The next morning he writes the Governor from that place.

Medfield Nov. 2^d 1675Hond S^r

My orders directing me to the several places and times that my souldiers were to be ready at, Speded my march accordingly; and reached this place yesterday by three of the clock afternoon; and had with me only 20 men that marched from Boston with me—Since divers are come up, and all that at present I am like to have by nine of the clock last night. Several hear as well as myself have great thoughts how it fareth with Mendam, having not heard since they sent to Boston, I am hasting to march this morning but hoped if the men's refreshments had not given check to have been gon by moon rising, I cannot see by acct taken before I draw out that my number will amount to above 75, some sending short of what ordered and 37 discharged by order, I have not any officer but a Sergeant from Roxbury; some men and the armes of others not fit for service, notwithstanding the strikt orders given by the Major. Our greatest danger (as I judged) if the enemy designs upon us this day, will be at a pass six miles from hence; the which I hope we shall look unto the Lord in the use of means to avoid; some being to returne home this morning I thought it meet to give this acct. Begging your prayers for us I desire that all our supplications may be accepted for the Country and the interest of our Lord Jesus Christ therein; and rest

Hon^d S^r

Your humble Servant

D. HENCHMAN.

[This is in a P. S.]

When the Lord shall have brought us safe to Mendam I shall attend the Major's orders there and wait for the recruits intended me.

¹³ Maj. W. was of Lancaster, but his house was in Groton, at what is now Ayer Junction.

¹⁴ Saturday, September 25th.

As will be seen by the above letter, the captain expected recruits to be ready and meet him at certain towns on the way, and was disappointed in receiving none, and also with the unfitness of those that came up afterwards, and in answer to this letter the Court, on November 3, ordered the "Major of Suffolk to send out of his regiment 18 able men armed and furnished with ammunition and provision for ten days under the conduct of a fitt person to make Lief-tenant," to recruit Capt. Henchman's company and search out the enemy at Hassanameset. The lieutenant chosen was probably Philip Curtis,¹⁵ of Roxbury, who was killed before he received his formal commission, I presume, as no order for his commission is found.

Capt. Henchman¹⁶ marches to Mendon, arrives on the 2d at 4 P.M., and writes immediately that they "arrived all safe and found the towne in like condition," and "pressed four horses for Scouts to send to Hassanameset." He found the inhabitants¹⁷ "drawn into two houses," and "in a pestered condition," and holds frequent meetings with them in order to prevail upon them to remain at Mendon contented. This and frequent scouting and reports took up his time until the arrival of the men from Boston.

It seems also from this letter that he had not yet heard from Capt. Sill, as it was proposed, and was preparing to send his soldiers home to Boston, was intending that morning sending all his troopers (8) and three files of men, but he gets orders from the Council by messengers from Capt. Sill. In order to meet Capt. Sill, fourteen miles away, he is forced to change a file of men with the garrison on account of their destitution of "clothes and shoes."

On the 9th, with his lieutenant (Philip Curtis) and 22 mounted men he rides to Hassanameset, and has a fight there of which he writes the details on the 10th, which in the main are given correctly in Hubbard's History. In his letter he relates that his lieutenant, Philip Curtis, is killed, and Thomas Andrews also (one of the Mendon garrison), and mentions that his corporal, Abiell Lamb,¹⁸ outran himself in the attack, and that all his own and the lieutenant's men ran away from him in the fight except (one of his "old soul-diers," as he thinks) Jonathan Dunning.¹⁹

The following list embraces those who served under Capt. Henchman from November 2d, and were credited November 30, as will be seen by the credits. The service was brief. Amongst these were 8 troopers, which may explain in part the difference in credits.

¹⁵ Vide Savage.

¹⁶ See letters from thence on Nov. 2d, 3d, 5th, &c., in Mass. Archives, and also published in History of Mendon.

¹⁷ Finds the garrison in charge of Sergt. White, in whose charge he leaves it when he withdraws.

¹⁸ Curtis and Lamb were both of Roxbury. Capt. H. deplors the loss of his lieutenant, and says he has not another to supply his place. Curtis left a widow and seven children.

¹⁹ J. D. had served Capt. H. previous to Sept. 27, but had now been of Mendon garrison for at least a month, and remained some time, as we shall see by his various credits hereafter.

November 30 th 1675				
Edward Barton.	01	05	08	William Price. 00 14 06
Isaac Heath.	00	16	02	William Davenport. 00 17 02
Henry Kerby.	00	17	02	Thomas Smith. 00 17 02
Jeremiah Wise.	01	00	06	Joseph Bugby. 00 11 02
Benjamin Negus.	00	17	02	Samuel Gardner. 00 17 02
John Leech.	01	19	04	Simon Rogers. 00 17 02
James White.	00	17	02	Abiel Lamb. 00 19 02
John Good.	00	17	02	Richard Woods. 00 17 02
Joseph Bateman.	00	17	02	Degory Sargent. 00 17 02
Edward Everet.	00	07	02	Josiah Mann. 00 17 02
Richard Francis.	02	00	00	John Malony. 01 19 04
John Kemble.	00	17	02	Francis Siddall. 01 19 04
Experience Orris.	00	17	02	Hugh Price. 00 17 02
Samuel Ryall.	00	10	04	James Harrington. 00 17 02
Joseph Gridley.	01	05	06	Benjamin Gamlin. ²⁰ 01 00 00
William Bodkin.	00	17	02	Isaac Morris. 00 17 02
William Hooper.	00	17	02	Josiah Holland. 00 17 02
John Tuckerman.	00	17	02	Joseph Wilson. 00 17 02
John Cann.	01	00	00	Samuel Ruggles. 00 17 02
				Philip Curtis, <i>Lieut.</i> 00 17 03

On November the 12th the Council ordered Major Willard to send forthwith 12 troopers to Capt. Henschman.

Many of the soldiers were now withdrawn and placed in garrison, and all available were pressed and mustered for the Narragansett campaign. Capt. H.'s men were many returned home with him.

Among the soldiers impressed in Boston for the Narragansett campaign, Dec. 3d, 1675, were the following from Capt. Henschman's company:²¹ James Whipple, Samuel Jenkins, Walter Cohone, James White, Thomas Jones, Thomas Stains, John Dereing, Robert Emory, Ralph Powel for Mr. James Lloyd, Francis Cooke for Mr. William Larrison. (Mass. Archives, vol. 68, 86.)

December 20 th 1675				
Joshua Silverwood.	01	18	06	Onesiphorus Tilston. 00 06 10
John Sherman.	01	18	06	Thomas Jones. 00 16 02
John Corbin.	00	16	02	Samuel Burnall. 00 16 02
Henry Tite.	01	16	02	John Spurr. 00 06 10
Simon Yates.	00	10	00	Lawrence White. 00 16 02
Thomas Birch.	00	06	10	Thomas Cheyney. 00 16 02
John Pierpont.	00	16	02	Thomas Bridentine. ²² 00 16 02
John Necks.	01	14	02	Robert Woodward. 01 02 03
John Griggs.	00	11	02	February 29, 1675-6
Thomas Lawrence.	00	07	06	Joseph Bodman. 00 08 09
Joshua Atherton.	00	07	06	William Lyon. 00 10 04
William Briggs.	00	06	10	John Parker. 00 16 02
Nicholas Gray.	00	16	02	March 24, 1676
Isaac Hubbard.	00	16	02	William Elliot. 00 16 02
James Draper.	00	16	02	Joseph Clark. 00 09 04
				April 24, 1676.
January 25 1675. (N. S. 1676.)				Hugh Clark. 00 07 00
William Goswell.	00	16	02	Thomas North. 01 13 04

²⁰ Married Philip Curtis's widow in 1678.

²¹ Probably of the local militia company in Boston.

²² Or Brissenden, Brizantine, Brisanton, called on Boston tax-list "Brizellton, Francis Dowses' man."

Among the soldiers in the above lists were probably the twelve troopers sent out by order of the Council on November 12, 1775, and those who did not return to Boston until the later dates. It was the custom, I find, to punish the men by fines, and sometimes their pay would be withheld for several months, until on petition to the Council it would be paid, if the officer who complained of their misconduct would recommend leniency and sign their "debenture" or bill for service rendered. On the minutes of the Council, of which a few fragments are preserved in the Mass. Archives, I find several instances of this kind; one in the case of Magnus White, whose name occurs later, and one in a quaint letter from one Jonathan Adderton, which declares that Capt. Henchman wrongfully accused him of "profanation of y^e Sabbath," when his only offence was the cutting up of an old hat and putting the pieces in his shoes to relieve his galled foot, &c.; but the Council did not remit his fine, and so his name does not appear on the treasurer's book at all. Many of the above will be recognized as of Roxbury and Dorchester.

On December 12, the Commissioners of the United Colonies voted to strengthen the garrisons with such of the soldiers as were able and willing to remain for that service during the winter, and to dismiss others to their homes.

Jan. 11, "It was ordered by the Council that the Garrison Souldjers at Chelmsford, Billerica, Groaten, Lancaster, Marlborough, Sudbury, under Major Willard be discharged forthwith and sent home," and at the same time it was voted to pay them "two months' pay on their retorne." This may have been done at the request of the people in the above-named towns, because we know that in many cases these garrison soldiers became very obnoxious to the citizens, as will be seen when we come to the lists at the garrisons hereafter. I presume this service of withdrawal and settlement of soldiers was under the special charge of Capt. Henchman, who then, I think, retired from active service until the 27th of the next April.²³

In the latter part of May, 1676, the forces under Capt. Henchman were called together again. These had been impressed by order of the Council, April 27, and released to do their planting until such time as wanted. They were mustered at Concord,²⁴ at this time an important military post, whence he writes on June 2d, that "Tom Doublet went away soon after Mr. Clark, and with him Jon^a Prescott, Daniel Champney & Josiah White, carrying the pay for Goodman Moss, and 3 gallons of Rum." They marched out towards Brookfield to join the Connecticut forces on the 27th, but on information received from this same Tom Doublet (an Indian),

²³ Mass. Archives, vol. 68. See Mass. Col. Records, page 96, and also letter of Capt. Henchman, Concord, April 29, in Shattuck's History of Concord, page 59.

²⁴ Capt. H. was commander-in-chief. He was in charge of all the Returns.

turned aside and had a fight with the Indians at Weshacom Ponds;²⁵ and this affair detained them so that they did not reach Hadley until the 14th,²⁶ when they joined the Connecticut forces in the campaign on the Connecticut River; for an account of which, see Judd's History of Hadley.

Capt. Henchman marched down towards Boston from Hadley the last of June, and his letter, given in Hubbard, and written on the way, describes the homeward march.

On June 24 there seems to have been a general settlement with all soldiers for service up to this summer campaign. Some were paid in cash by the treasurer, but mostly they were paid in part by the towns where they lived. The following lists probably contain most of the names of those who marched out and served in this campaign, with Capt. Henchman:

June 24, 1676.		Francis Cooke. 2 items	04 04 02
Magnus White.	01 09 00	John Stone.	01 10 10
Joseph Lyon.	04 11 08	Patrick Morren.	06 08 06
July 24, 1676.		William Healy.	02 11 05
John Chub.	02 00 00	Simon Groves (als. Grow)	03 12 10
Daniel Hawes.	01 06 06	John Polly.	01 11 08
Hugh Taylor.	05 00 00	John Kendall.	00 17 00
Joseph Procter.	00 17 00	Ephraim Regiment.	03 17 11
August 24 th 1676		Benjamin Rice.	03 17 11
John Moore.	01 14 00	September 23 ^d 1676.	
Thomas Wheeler.	00 08 04	Joshuah Sawyer.	03 07 00
Richard Scott. <i>Cornett</i>	08 17 00	James Sawyer.	03 01 05
George Stedman.	01 16 08	Jacob Willar.	12 05 08
Jonathan Atherton.	04 00 00	John Winter.	01 02 10
Jacob Hill.	04 17 00	John Tolman.	00 07 00
James Cheevers.	02 11 00	James Cutler.	01 04 03
John Oyne.	02 11 00	Nathaniel Adams.	01 02 06
William Keene.	04 18 06	James White.	00 15 08
James Franklin.	04 18 06	Joseph Browne.	01 10 00
Joseph Richeson.	03 01 08	John Browne.	03 05 08
Justinian Holding.	02 11 00	Samuel Edmons.	02 11 05
Denis Sihy. ²⁷	02 18 09	John Greenland.	02 02 08
Thomas North.	04 02 10	John Pinder.	05 00 00
Thomas Robinson.	05 12 00	John Redman.	02 14 00
Robert Emes.	05 01 05	Abraham Wilkinson.	01 10 10
Richard Browne.	03 03 04	James Bayly.	02 11 03
Francis Woolfe.	01 15 08	Daniel Ruff (als. Roff).	04 17 00
Joseph Garfield.	01 10 00	John Gibson.	03 11 00
John Floyd. <i>Lieut.</i>	12 17 02	Richard Wood.	02 17 00
Jonathan Sprague.	04 01 05	Josiah White.	02 04 03
Benjamin Muzzye.	02 11 05	John Adams.	03 15 06
Thomas Adams.	04 17 00	Joseph Bucknam.	00 14 03

²⁵ See Hubbard's History.

²⁶ The note of Mr. Drake, in Hubbard, is evidently a mistake, as the forces certainly reached Hadley on the 14th.

²⁷ Denis Sihy, or Syhy, will be often met with, as he served under several different captains.

John Stedman.	03 17 02	James Patterson.	02 11 05
James Miller.	05 02 06	Thomas How.	02 11 05
Jonathan Hill.	02 11 05	Richard Scott.	00 08 06

REMARKS.

At the opening of the war the colonial militia was quite efficiently organized. Each county had its regiment of "trained soldiers." The regiments of Suffolk and Middlesex counties consisted of fifteen companies of Foot and one of Cavalry each. The Essex regiment was of thirteen Foot and one Cavalry, the other counties smaller. There were seventy-three organized companies in the Massachusetts colony, besides an independent cavalry company called the "Three County Troop," made up in Suffolk, Middlesex and Essex. The highest military officer of the colony was Major General Daniel Denison, of Ipswich. The highest regimental officer at this time was Major, or Sergeant Major. These local companies were not sent on active service out of their towns, but men were impressed from the number and placed under officers appointed for special service by the Council. Each company of Foot had a Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, Clerk, Sergeants, Corporals and a Drummer. Cavalry had Cornett instead of Ensign and a Trumpeter and Quartermaster. The regular number of privates in foot companies was 70, in the cavalry 50. On special service it was more. The pay of soldiers, according to Mr. Judd, in his History of Hadley, was 6s. per week, and 5s. was paid for their "dyet." There is no way of determining the rate of pay from Hull's Journal, as all payments are "on acct" and do not specify time of service. Plymouth colony paid the private soldiers 2s. per day, Drummers 2s. 6d., Sergeant 3s., Ensign 4s., "Lieftenant" 5s., Captain 6s. A "Chyrurgion" or doctor was attached to each expedition. A William Locke went with Major Savage to Mount Hope, remained with Capt. Henchman till August, and then joined Capt. Mosely. (This from two depositions in vol. 68 Mass. Archives, page 60.) A chaplain also generally served with each expedition. The price paid for horses was 18d. per week. Prices of Clothing, "Wastcoats," 6s., Drawers 5s. 6d., "Stockins" 2s., Shirts 6s., Shoes 4s.

On this Mount Hope expedition many used the Old Matchlock musket, the "Regulation" weapon of that time; but it was soon discarded as not so serviceable as the Flintlock or "Snaphance." There were no bayonets in use, but each company at first had a number of Pikemen, soon found to be useless in an Indian fight. The "Matchlock" was an exceedingly cumbersome affair, and was too long and heavy to fire at arm's length, so that each soldier was obliged to carry a "rest" (a crotched staff pointed at the foot with iron and attached to his wrist by a string). No. 7 of the orders in musket drill, "Elton's Tactics," was, "Put the string of your rest about your left wrist." The Indians always used the Flintlock.

The other equipments of a foot soldier were a "Snapsack," six feet of match or fuse, a Bandoleer, which was a leathern belt passing over the right shoulder and under the left arm, and containing a dozen or more round boxes each holding one charge of powder; a bag of bullets and a horn of priming-powder was also attached to this belt. The Indians who served our side were not regularly credited, and so, with few exceptions, their "debentures" are not found. Their names and service will form a separate article.

Pocasset Swamp, where Fort Leverett was built, lies in the present town of Tiverton, R. I.

NO. II.

CAPT. SAMUEL MOSELY AND HIS MEN.

THE object of this series of articles is to gather the names of the soldiers who served in the above mentioned war under various commanders, and place them in definite and permanent form. I believe, however, that many will be interested to know something in the beginning of the remarkable character whose name stands at the head of this company of "Volunteers." I am greatly indebted to J. C. J. Brown, Esq., of Roxbury, who has made an exhaustive study of the Mosely genealogy, for many valuable papers and suggestions, besides cordial and appreciative coöperation.

The family name was Maudesley, of Lancashire, England. In the fall of 1635 Henry Maudesley came from England to Massachusetts in the ship Hopewell, Capt. Babb, master, and in the same ship came Isaac Heath (who settled at Roxbury), and fifty-three others.

Henry Maudesley was granted "about a quarter-acre of land" in Dorchester "neere Goodman Munnings's," but lived at Braintree, and had children born there—Mary, Sept. 29, 1638, and Samuel, June 14, 1641. Had 12 acres of land at Mt. Wollaston granted him "for three heads," February 24, 1639-40, was of Artillery Co. 1643, and freeman in 1646. In 1652 he lived in Boston, and had the lot on the corner of Union and Hanover Streets. (See "Notes on Book of Possessions," page 92.)

The ancient Records seem to indicate that nearly every individual had his own way of spelling²⁸ surnames, and the utmost care must be exercised to avoid frequent mistakes in collecting data from different sources. Thus Maudesley appears in some of the earliest records as Modsley, Mosley, Mozley, Mosseley; finally settling down to Mosely. Samuel's signature, in every case known to me, is Mosley, while Addington, Rawson and other colonial officials, give it Mosely.

Samuel Mosely married Ann Addington (born March 10, 1647, daughter of the first Isaac and sister of the Hon. Isaac). They were married previous to May 30, 1665, for on that date Samuel Mosely and his wife Ann sign a deed to John Conney, conveying a piece of land in "Windmill Field," which land Ann inherited from her father, who had died in 1653. Samuel is designated cooper, Con-

²⁸ An illustration of this is an oversight in my former article in regard to Jona. Adderton, whom I have found to be the same with Jona. Atherton of Dorchester.

ney also was a cooper ; and I judge from an old receipt for a bill of coopeage, signed by Conney and Mosely together, that they were in company in that business in 1673.

In 1668 he was one of the commissioners sent by the Court to treat with the sachems of the Narragansetts, in company with Richard Wayt and Capt. Wright, and in the record is called "Captain."

The author of "The Present State of New England," &c., reprinted in Drake's Old Indian Chronicle, says, "This Capt. Mosely hath been an old Privateer at Jamaica,"²⁹ an excellent soldier, and an undaunted spirit, one whose memory will be honorable in New England for his many eminent services he hath done the Public." This may have been the authority upon which Mr. Savage bases his statement that Mosely "visited Jamaica in the way of trade, and the adventurous spirit was excited and schooled, perhaps by Sir Henry Morgan and his associate Buccaneers ; the result of which was his bringing home to Boston two prizes taken from some unmentioned enemy." From these hints and various other circumstances I am satisfied that he was in command of some ship previous to 1668.³⁰

I have found, after a long search, the following old account of Treasurer Russell's estate, presented by James Russell, Executor, October 20, 1676.

The Country is Debtor to			
the huires of y ^e Katch Salsbury,	Samuel Mosely Commd ^r from March		
16, 1673 to April 27, 1674 at 24£ pr moneth	.	.	£33 12s.
Pd for wages to the Salsbury's M ^r & 47 men	.	.	76 01
Pd Capt Mosely for disbursem ^{ts} on the Salsbury	.	.	23 10
Pd Capt Mosely for Water bucketts for y ^e Katch Swallow			00 19

These two "Katches" with the ship Anthony were fitted out and sent forth by the colony to protect our commerce, and in this time were engaged in cruising about Nantucket and vicinity.

He must have had notable experience from the facts of the affair of the "two prizes," mentioned above, which from various materials collected from the court files and archives, I am now able to explain. (This matter was fully set forth in an excellent paper read before this N. E. H. G. Society by the late C. W. Tuttle, Esq., and upon the matter of that paper I am not willing to intrude save in so far as it concerns Capt. Mosely.) For several years previous to 1675, Boston merchants had been greatly troubled by "Dutch Pirates," as they were called. The merchants had several times petitioned the Court for a "commission of Order and Reprisal," which that cautious body had steadily refused. Several times the merchants had armed their vessels and taken the matter of "Reprisal" into their own hands, as in the matter of the Dutch ship "Ex-

²⁹ I am unable to find Mr. F. Baylies's authority for saying that Mosely "had resided at Jamaica."

³⁰ I notice that Isaac Addington, father of Mosely's wife, was commander of the ship "Ann and Joane" in 1652.

pectation," and upon complaint made by the Dutch authorities these merchants were called to account by the Boston Court. At last, in December, 1674, several small English vessels were captured at the Eastward by the Dutch, joined with some English renegades from the Massachusetts colony. The place of the capture was "near Mt. Desart Isles." One of these vessels belonged to John Freake of Boston, the others to Waldron of Dover and Shapley of Kittery. Upon the report of these depredations and the petition of the merchants, a Commission of Reprisal was granted by the Court, February 15, 1674-5, an expedition was immediately fitted out, and by the request of the merchants Capt. Samuel Mosely was put in command. Sailing out, his ship fell in with a French vessel which he impressed into his service, and soon met the Dutchmen. They had three vessels, the "Edward & Thomas," principal ship, of which the commander of the pirates, Peter Roderigo, was captain. The second was called in the appraisal the "Penobscot Shallopp that Roads went out in," and was commanded by Cornelius Anderson. The third was the vessel captured from Mr. Freake, "The Shallopp called Philipp," and now in charge of Peter Grant and its proper skipper, George Manning, who had been wounded in its capture, and was about to be turned adrift in his boat by the pirates, when in consideration of his promise of good behavior he was reinstated and allowed to sail his own craft in convoy of the others under Dutch colors, and now when Capt. Mosely came to the attack, Manning at once turns his arms upon his captors and assists in their capture; and in their defence before the Court the pirates complain bitterly of the usage of Capt. Mosely in fighting them under the three colors, English, French and Dutch all at once, and the treachery of Manning. The pirates were captured, and were brought into Boston April 2, 1675, Mr. Freake's vessel restored to him, and the others confiscated by the Court for expenses. &c. The pirates were imprisoned to await trial in May, 1675. The prisoners³¹ were Peter Rod-

³¹ In October, 1674, Capt. Jurian Aronson (Arnonson), commander of the Dutch Privateer "Flying-Post-Horse" of Curassow, returning from the destruction of two French forts and settlements at the Eastward, viz., "Penabskop" (Penobscot) and St. John, came to Boston and asked of the Governor permission to enter the harbor to "repaire," &c. When he sailed away he left a part of his crew, viz.: "Peter Rodrigo, 'Flanderkin'; Cornelius Anderson, Dutchman," three Englishmen who had belonged at Boston, John Rhoades, Randall Judson, Peter Grant; Richard Fowler, who belonged at Muscongus, and a "Cornishman" named John Williams, who had been taken prisoner by the Dutch and carried to "Curriaw," and came hither with Capt. Arnonson. Rhodes, "principal," Fowler, Grant and Judson, hired Thomas Mitchell of Malden, and a vessel of which he was part owner, for a "trading voyage to the Eastward;" and also another, the Shallopp. It would seem that the vessels went in at Casco, and the crew captured some sheep at "Mountjoy's Island" (now Peak's), belonging to Mr. Mountjoy. (Fowler testified that Mitchell approved this action, but he denied it, though confessing that he "ate of the mutton.")

Rodrigo commanded the "Edward and Thomas," and Anderson the "Penobscot Shallopp." Rodrigo had some sort of commission from Arnonson (which one of them testified was "written at the 'Beare' and had three seals on it"). Anderson had a copy of this without seals. Mitchell testified that he opposed their acts of piracy. Edward Young testified that he went out with Mitchell and had no part in piracy, and both these were discharged under bonds for appearance. John Tomas was a boatswain who had come to Boston formerly in the ship "William and Jane," and was with Anderson, and was accused of shooting a Frenchman, but denied, though admitting that he "shot at him." Tomas and

erigo, commander; Cornelius Anderson, consort; John Rhodes, Thomas Mitchell, Randall Judson, Edward Yourings, Richard Fowler, Peter Grant, John Williams, John Thomas (Tomas or Tombs).

Great excitement prevailed in the colony during this trial. The Dutchmen made an able defence, producing their commission under William, Prince of Orange (but which was found to be from their former skipper Arnouson), and alleging the infringement of the law of nations by our vessels in trading with the French at the eastward with whom the Dutch were at war. There is evidence in the trial, as in the subsequent action of the Court, of much popular sympathy for the Dutch prisoners, while the most bitter hostility was expressed against the English renegades. Five were convicted of piracy and condemned to death; but under the stress of the opening war execution was deferred. Anderson was acquitted. Upon his petition Rodrigo was soon pardoned and released, and served faithfully against the Indians. Fowler was pardoned in October. The sentence of others—Rhodes, Grant and Judson—after several months imprisonment, was commuted to banishment out of the country on condition of giving security for prison charges and transportation.

It will be easy to see that Capt. Mosely, the hero of this successful enterprise, would naturally become at once the most popular man in the colony, and when in the midst of his success the Indian war broke out, he would be looked to at once as a popular leader. But he held no military office, and not even his success and popularity, and close family relation to Gov. Leverett, could prevail to break the strict rule of official succession in the colonial militia; so that the only course left him was, perhaps, that which suited him best, the organization of an independent company of Volunteers. "Within three hours," says the old historian, "there were enlisted 110 volunteers." Among these were many of his old "privateers,"³² i. e.

Williams were taken in Anderson's vessel. Manning's crew consisted of James De Beck (who was a principal witness against the pirates, and tells a pitiful story of their abuse), a Frenchman and a boy.

Rodrigo (often written Odrigoe), as will appear hereafter, served a long time under Capt. Scottow at Bla k Point and at the eastward. Anderson was the famous "Cornelius the Dutchman," of whom such wonderful stories are told in the *Old Indian Chronicle*. As an illustration of the difficulty attending the collection of historical data, notice the error of that most scrupulous, acute and patient historian, Mr. S. G. Drake, who says (on the 328th page of his *Book of Indians*) that, until then, "the surname of Cornelius had never been found," but that now he "was able to add that his name was Cornelius Consort." For a long time I was greatly puzzled to find Mr. Drake's authority for this statement, but finally, in the Archives, found an old letter, written in Dutch, by Peter Rodrigo, put in evidence favorable to Cornelius, in which letter he calls him Cornelius Anderson, Consort. The mistake was easy from the close resemblance of the former e and o, but the error is so palpable that I am led to doubt that the letter itself ever passed the test of Mr. Drake's own personal scrutiny. In the Massachusetts account against Plymouth Colony is the item, Dr. to Apparel to Capt. Cornelius, Wastcoat, shoes and Stokins £00. 14s. 00.

³² In view of the above facts and the well-known explanations of many old writers, the solemn statement of the writer on Philip's War, in the "*Memorial History of Boston*" (that the name "Privateers" was used as "a synonym for volunteers, and not because they had served at sea"), appears somewhat amusing.

those who had served with him in his expedition, and several of the released pirates.

From a close comparison of these following lists with the Boston tax-lists for 1674, and from other sources, I find that many of his soldiers were apprentices or servants, and probably many boys not yet enrolled in the militia, and therefore not subject to impressment. Several of the names would seem to indicate a sprinkling of Frenchmen, and a writer in Drake's "Old Indian Chronicle" relates that the ten or twelve privateers had several dogs with them which rendered valuable service in "finding out the enemy in their swamps." By reason of the loss of the first thirteen pages of the Journal, the names previous to August 21 have to be gathered from the Ledger, and therefore I had to make a close study of many of the names, but have no doubt of any set down below, with the possible exception of Eph^m Regeman and Moses Knap, and with these I deem the evidence sufficient to justify me in putting them in.

It will be noticed that only 75 men are credited below for services in this campaign. There is no doubt that more went with him, and we can readily see that many of the transient adventurers, especially if sailors, would be gone before the Court got ready to pay them off regularly. On August 4th Capt. Mosely was paid £50 by the Court "for his souldiers," and November 20th £50 more; while up to December 10 he had only accounted to the treasurer by receipts from his men for £27, but in the mean time had made no charge for his own military service, and I judge that he may have paid off many who followed him in this brief service at Mount Hope, as their occasion demanded or his convenience suited, without any formal "Debenter" or bill. Thus Cornelius Anderson is not mentioned at all, and doubtless many others were settled with by Capt. Mosely, and no account rendered. There is no indication that he misappropriated the colony's funds, but was probably free-handed with his soldiers and careless in his accounts, and when Capt. Gookin and others complained of his high-handed cruelty towards the Indians, there was no hint of any indirection in regard to his conduct in money matters. I doubt that he had 110 men, as stated in the "Old Indian Chronicle," but think there may have been many more than are here set down. From some indications I am led to think that many of his men did not return with him to Boston, but joined the Plymouth forces and remained in the service there.

Names of those who were credited with military Service under Capt Mosely in June & July 1675 at M^t Hope.

August 9. 1675

	£.	s.	d.		
				Robert Miles.	01 07 06
Robert Webb.	01	07	06	Thomas Austin. ³³	01 07 06
John Bordecot.	01	07	06	Moses Knap.	02 00 00
William Perry.	01	07	06	John Wilson.	01 07 06

Robert Street.	01 07 06	September 3 ^d .	
Thomas Tidy.	01 07 06	Joshua Winslow, <i>Lieut.</i>	03 06 06
August 14.		Cusbe Ebitt.	01 01 00
William Pollard.	01 03 00	Edward Reade.	01 07 06
Joseph Pollard.	01 07 06	Thomas Woodmott. ³³	01 07 06
John Hands. ³³	01 07 06	Roger Kenicott.	01 12 00
William Harvey.	01 07 06	September 14 th	
Samuel Gold.	01 02 06	Roger Jones.	01 07 06
Joseph Souther.	01 07 06	Rowland Soley.	01 04 00
Alexander Forbs.	01 02 06	William Smallidg.	01 04 00
William Green.	01 01 06	John Pemberton.	01 01 00
Joseph Plaisted.	01 01 06	Robert Kenicott.	02 05 00
August 20 th		Josiah Hilman.	04 08 08
Ephraim Regiman	02 07 00	John Tombs.	03 06 00
John Coke.	02 04 06	John Steevens. ³³	03 00 00
Jonathan Nichols.	01 07 06	John Size.	01 12 00
Richard Nevill.	01 19 06	September 21 st	
Benjamin Phillips.	02 02 00	Depon Frenchman.	01 00 06
John Brandon.	01 07 06	George Burbeck	01 00 06
Joseph Sexton.	01 07 06	William Brookes	02 05 00
Timothy Horton ³³	01 07 06	William Smith	02 15 06
James Lendall.	01 07 06	William Pasmore.	01 07 04
Samuel Lane.	01 07 06	September 28 th .	
August 21.		John Cross.	01 04 00
Plandian Decro. ³³	01 07 06	George Cray.	01 01 06
Jacob Allin, <i>Ensigne.</i>	01 16 00	Sept 30 th	
Thomas James, <i>Sergt.</i>	01 08 00	Jacob Bullard.	02 03 09
Aaron Stephens.	02 04 06	Oct 19 th	
John Holman.	00 18 00	Timothy Horton	02 00 00
Samuel Peacock.	00 18 00	John Cross.	01 10 00
John Drury.	00 10 06	Rich ^d Barnam, <i>Corp</i> ¹	05 12 00
Thomas Gross.	02 07 00	October 26 th 1675	
August 27 th		Richard Eyres	01 04 00
Robert Foster.	02 04 06	Robert Woodward	01 00 00
William Dean.	01 11 00	Derman Morris.	02 17 04
Manoah Bodman.	00 12 00	Robert Dawes.	04 18 06
Francis Burges.	01 07 06	Isaac Sheffield.	03 03 04
William Jones.	01 07 06	Daniel Matthewes.	02 00 00
Thomas Clark.	01 07 06	John Baker	02 14 00
Phillip Sandy.	01 07 06	Samuel Browne	04 18 06
		Samuel Messey	01 07 06

I find that several of the names are credited with service under other captains. Thus, John Cross has credit under Henchman, September 14. George Burkback (Burbeck, Berbeck), September 3 and October 19, under Lieut. Brattle. William Brooks under Prentice, August 27. Several are credited as "guards," and may have been in service as scouts and guides, and so credited under the captains with whom each service was rendered. With

³³ In old Boston Tax-Lists, 1674, these names appear as Alliston, Hams, Hortman, Splandy decro, Woodnet. A petition of John Stevens (Archives, vol. 67) states that he was "shot in the arm" in this service.

these exceptions I think the above, together with some others³⁴ whose names are now lost, undoubtedly made up the motley company of "Volunteers" with which Capt. Mosely marched out of Boston, probably early in the morning of June 27th, and overtook the troops of Henchman and Prentice, waiting for them at "Woodcock's," in the afternoon; and then all marched on and arrived at Swanzy, and quartered at Mr. Miles's Garrison-House, close to the bridge leading to Mount Hope. Gen. Cudworth of the Plymouth forces was commander in chief. The reports of the events immediately following their arrival are somewhat conflicting. Some account of the general movement of the troops has been given in the former article. If any one reads only the "Old Indian Chronicle" aforesaid, it will seem as if Capt. Mosely was the only officer engaged, and that his men did all the fighting; but the accounts therein were the first undigested rumors that came back from the army, and are not confirmed by Hubbard, or Church, or Mather. The action of the troopers on the afternoon of the 28th belongs to the next article, on Capt. Prentice. The repulse they received greatly elated the Indians, who appeared next morning shouting their defiant challenge to ours to come across the bridge and fight them. Taking the several accounts, the following is probably near the truth: Capt. Mosely with his volunteers charged across the bridge and pursued the Indians to the woods. The regular troops followed and formed in line to sweep the neck by marching with both wings of the line extended. This, Church says, was so clumsily performed that the two wings encountered and fired upon each other, and Perez Savage, Capt. Henchman's ensign, was wounded. Philip fled before our troops, and with his people escaped across the Mattapoisset River to Pocasset. The volunteers took a prominent part in the scouting movements of the next few days, then marched, July 5th, with the Massachusetts forces, to the Narragansett country, and returned back with them on July 15th to Rehoboth, and when on the 18th it was decided to withdraw all the Massachusetts troops except Capt. Henchman's, they returned to Boston and were disbanded, probably about July 20th.

No further credits appear under Capt. Mosely until December 10, yet during all the time from his return from Mt. Hope he had been in almost constant service, which it may be well for us to follow, as it is probable that most of his men credited on that date had served with him to the time. On August 7, with 60 dragoons he met Capt. Henchman's tired troops marching towards Mendon, having

³⁴ In the Archives, vol. 68, page 193, there is a petition from Samuel Holman saying that his servant Edward Sampson went out to Mt. Hope under Captain Mosely, and complains that "instruments of chirurgery of his have been prest for the use of Mosely's chirurgeon, and afterwards a whole box of the same for Doctor Wells when he went to Narragansett, which are now delivered to Dr. Gerrish." Then himself prest to go out under Capt. Wadsworth, had to send his said servant, costing him £14, and then his servant was put under Capt. Turner.

been sent to them with supplies. (Capt. Thomas's letter in Mather's Brief History says, "We met Capt. Mosely marching from Providence up after us.") When Capt. Henchman went next day to Boston for orders, Mosely was left in command at Mendon, and most of Henchmen's men were left with him. Within a few days he was ordered to march to Quabaog (Brookfield), where he continued awhile scouting, &c. In a note endorsing a bill of William Locke, chirurgeon of the Massachusetts forces in the Mount Hope campaign, Mosely says that after Capt. Henchman went to Boston, "he took s^d Locke into his company, and from Mendon marched to Malbury and thence to Quaboag." Capt. Lathrop being senior officer, withdrew Locke to his forces; and I find a Court Order (vol. 67, Archives) to Dr. William Hawkins, August 17, 1675, "to join Mosely at Malbrow."

On August 16th he wrote a letter to the Governor, which explains his movements, situation, &c.

ffrom Nashowah Allies³⁵ Lankestor 16th August 1675.

Honored Sir

Yesterday I spayred Capt. Beeres 26 our men to march with him to Sprinkefeild & it was with Major Willard ordder and I have also Accordinge to my orders from Major General Denison Sentt to Dunstable fort to Inlarge there gard 18 men & to Groatton 12 men & to Chelmsford 12 men out of those y^t ware under Capt Hinksmans & of those y^t Caime with me : Also last nightt about Seaven A clocke we marchted into Nashowah wheare we are Att present butt shall as soon as the Constable haith prest us a dozen Horses proseed for Groatton & so to Chensford : according to the order Major Willard gave me yesterday Att Quoah-bawge ; The day before I caime from Quoahbaugh—I marchted I(n) company with Capt Beeres & Capt Laytrop to the Swāp where they left mee & tooke theire march to Sprinkfilld and a soone as they ware gon I tooke my march Into the woods about 8 mills beyond the Swāpe where Capt Huttcheinson and the rest ware y^t ware wounded & killed & so returned to follow the enemy as above saide ; also we did find A prsell of wigwoms beyond the Swaimp about 20 which we burnt &c. our Maj^r having a Seartayne Intelligence of a considerable party of Indians y^t have gathered toogather a littell above Chensford which I hope wee shalbe up with this night or to Morrough at furthest & if it please God I come up with them God assisting me I will cloosely ingadge with them & God spearing my life I shall as oppertunity gives leave Acquaint your hoñor of my Actions ; I have with me butt 60 men at present ; so desiring your prosperity & y^t it may please God to preserve your Honour in good health and humbly beseach your prayers to God for my Good Suckses in this my undertaking with My Humbell Searvis &c in all deunttyfullness I subscribe myself your Respective kinsman & Humble Searvant

SAMUELL MOSLEY.

my Cosson Leverett ppresents his
Denty to yo^r Honour & my Antt.

³⁵ Mr. Sheldon of Deerfield suggests Alias as the meaning, which is doubtless correct.

Between Aug. 9th and 16th he had marched from Mendon to Brookfield, where he distributed his men as above. On the 17th he probably marched towards Chelmsford as proposed, but on the 22d some of the Nipmuck Indians fell upon Lancaster and killed seven or nine inhabitants, and the next day the people sent for Capt. Mosely and told him of their suspicions of the Hassanemesit Indians (friendly or Praying Indians) then living under supervision in a sort of fort at Marlborough. Capt. M. hastily marched to the fort and seized 11 (or according to Maj. Gookin's account 15) of the Indians, "pinioned" them and bound them neck to neck and sent them down to Boston for trial. Of the 15 only 11 were accused; all were finally found innocent & acquitted, and Capt. Mosely's proceeding severely criticized by the Court and his superior officers. Maj' Gookin believed that the people instigated suspicions "in order to secure the land of the Indians." After sending these prisoners down on August 30th, Capt. Mosely marched up the Merrimac as far as Pennacook (Concord, N. H.) to the home of the peaceful Wannalancet, where he was prepared to repeat the late transaction; but the Pennacooks had quietly withdrawn and eluded him. He burnt their village and stores of food, and marched back. Capt. Mosely's course was not approved, and the Court immediately sent messengers to win back the friendship of Wannalancet.

The next we hear of Capt. M. is on September 14, when he marched into Hadley with 60 Bay soldiers, and thence to Deerfield, where he was quartered and scouting on the 18th, when hearing the guns of the attack on Capt. Lathrop at Bloody Brook, he hurried with 70 men to join the fight, and though too late to prevent the terrible disaster, he and his men attacked the great body and "charged them through and through" several times, chasing them seven miles or more. Lieutenants Savage and Pickering³⁶ especially distinguished themselves for their daring. Finally, after long and severe fighting, but strangely enough, with a loss of only two killed³⁷ and eight or nine wounded, they were being forced slowly backward by great numbers, when Major Treat with a force of Connecticut troops and Indians came up and joined them, and before these united forces Philip retreated in haste.

The English retired to Deerfield for the night, and next morning returned to the battlefield and buried their dead.

It was thought best to abandon the garrison at Deerfield, and so

³⁶ It seems the highest presumption to correct both Hubbard and Drake in one note; but Hu'll's Journal says that Pickering was Appleton's and not Mosely's Lieutenant.

³⁷ John Oates, Peter Barron, and perhaps one besides. John Oates was credited £2 under Capt. Henchman Aug. 27, 1675, and under Mosely July 24th, 1676. Peter Barron nowhere appears in the Journal. But see Colls. Essex Inst. vol. ii.—"Will of Peter Barron of Marblehead, Fisherman, prest to goe against the Indians," gives his property to his master Elias Hendly, &c. Inventory of said Peter Barron deceased was made Nov. 26, 1675. Of the wounded, in the Archives I find the following in a petition of Richard Russ to the Court praying for relief. "I was just out in the Country's Service under Capt. Mosely, when Capt^l Lawthrop was slayne, and in that fight received a shott in y^e bottom of my belly the bullet carryin in with it y^e ring of my Bandoleer."

all removed to Hatfield, and Capt. Mosely was garrisoning that town on October 5th, when he writes the Governor. Major Pynchon, with Capts. Appleton and Sill, were on the opposite side of the river at Hadley.

This letter is in another hand, but dictated and signed by Mosely.

Hadfield y^e 5. of 8^{ber} 1675

Honoured Sir.

Your kind letter I have received bearing date y^e 30th of y^e last month, for which I render you many thanks and takes it very kindly, I confess y^t I have written some things to that purpose as Concerning the hangeing of those Indians of Malbery, I desire to be Excuse if my tongue or pen has out run my witt being in a passion and seeing what mischive had beene done by the Indians which I have beene eye witness to, would make a wiser person than I am, willing to have revenge of aney of them, but notwithstanding what I have writen there as to that purpose it is fare from my heart to Doe, for I am willing to undertake aney commands Imposed upon me to serve the country as farr as my life, wee discover severall Indians about all these townes, which causes Allarm, and wee have mett ne'er of theire myne body as yett Butt wee Doe Dayly Expect them wee never sende aney skoutes but weould mett them onely last night they could not discover them although they have beene about Hadly mill which is the other side of a great River Contrary to my quartes, Springfield Indians is thought of Certain to bee ready att any times when the enemy comes to appose y^e toune to fall upon the English along with Enemye, my service pray presented to your Lady and not forgetting yourselfe and all the familye wishing you and all of them much prosperity, health & happiness being all att present from

S^r your Most Humble & Ready Servant
and loving Cousin SAMUEL MOSLEY.

[P. S.]

Last night we received some news from Springfield which gives us an acct. y^t Phillip with 500 men Laid in Springfield forte & resolved to fall upon the toune this day, and to prevent his designe Major Pinchon is gone with Capt Apleton and Capt Sill, with a company of 190 Soulders, two Quiniticate companeys leaft att Hadly to gard that toune I and my company heare wheare I doe expect them every houre and att nightt as well as in day for they have faired upon y^e Sentinell at night.

The blow fell as threatened, and Major Pynchon and troops came only to find the town in flames, and the Indians fled. Major Pynchon, stricken sorely by this heavy loss of his beloved town, begged earnestly to be relieved from the chief command, and the Court reluctantly and very tenderly granted his request, appointing Capt. Appleton major in his stead. The Indians retired to Coasset, about fifty miles above Hadley, and on the 12th Major A. marched from Springfield and quartered his troops at that place. The next few days we spent in scouting and searching out the enemy, and on the 16th Capt. Mosely writes the following letter to the Governor. The postscript is written in his hand on the margin of the letter. It seems to us too horrible to be conceived of as the act of christians. The captive was the squaw taken at Springfield. Nothing further

is known of the affair. Some spécial act of outrage or treachery on her part may have drawn upon her this fearful sentence.

Hatfield, 16th October 1675

I have skarse aney strang news to acquaint y^r Honn^r withall at present yesterday wee thought to go in pursuit of y^e Enemies at Hadly side of the river and as wee marched out from Hadly Some Theinge better than a mile, the Skoutes y^t was send from this towne Did Speye some Indians and there-upon we came this side of the river and did march out last night y^e whole body or strenght of men that we have heare ; but at Last we took it to Consideration that it was very Dangerous to leave the towne impteye without any Souldiers. This Day being a very blustrous and very high winds, I have sent out some skoutes and they discover some Indians, some three miles of. And last night I have send of my men 4 to Deerfield and some two miles from the towne wheare there was some railles ye enemy have weaged them up and made them very fast. I know not whether it be to trappan the skoutes or else to faight there if we go in pursueth of them ; but I intend to bourn all their rails up, please God to grant me life and health.

Wee are told by an Indian that was taken at Springfeeld y^t they intended to set upon these 3 townes in one Day. The body of them y^t waites this exploite to do is about 600 Indians, as wee are informed by the aforesaid Indian ; and farther wee are informed that they are making a fort some 60 miles from this Place up in the woods, Pray sir be pleased to present my humble service to your lady and all the rest of the family.

I make no question but the enemys will make an tempt within a short space of Time upon those Townes, having nothing else skarse worth your reading I remain

Sir y^r most Humble &

Ready Servant, whilst [?]

SAMUEL MOSLEY.

“This aforesaid Indian was ordered to be torn in peeces by Doggs and she was soe dealt with all.”

On the 19th Philip with his whole force fell upon the town, but was soon “beaten off without doing much harm.” Just before the fight seven of Mosely’s men and three others were sent out to scout, and seven of the number were cut off and killed. The Indians made no further general attack after this repulse, and withdrew to winter quarters. Capt. Mosely’s forces, however, still remained in the western towns with other troops, under Major Appleton, until as late as November 20th, for on the 16th the Court authorized a letter to Appleton directing the withdrawal of the main force, and urging especially the dismissal of the troops of Capt. Mosely. The United Colonies were now in full preparation for the grand movement against the Narragansetts ; and the Privateers with their dashing leaders were needed. The western and outlying towns were garrisoned as securely as might be, and all available “veterans” hurried in to swell the army of the three colonies to 1000 men for this special service to Narragansett. Much of great interest in the organization of this army must be passed over here.

The quota of Massachusetts was to be 527 men, Plymouth 158,

and Connecticut 325. Rhode Island was not "counted in," for reasons best known to our dear old Puritan fathers. Josiah Winslow, Esq., Governor of Plymouth Colony, was made Commander-in-chief of the army, and under him Major Samuel Appleton commanded the Massachusetts forces, consisting of six companies, viz.: Capt. Appleton's own, Capt. Mosely's, Capt. Joseph Gardner's, Capt. Nathaniel Davenport's, Capt. James Oliver's, and a troop under Capt. Thomas Prentice; and Major Robert Treat the Conn. forces, 5 companies, under Capts. Siely, Gallop, Mason, Wats; and Major William Bradford 2 Plymouth companies, his own and Capt. John Gorham's. The Massachusetts forces mustered on Dedham Plain, where on Dec. 9 Gen. Winslow assumed command. There were then "465 fighting men," besides Capt. Prentice's troop. It seems from the Journal that no settlement had been made with Mosely's and Appleton's troops for the campaign in the west, and on December 10th, 27 pages of the book are entirely devoted to their accounts, and few, if any, other items are given under that date save such as relate to them. The captains had paid out small sums at different times, and the towns of "Hadly," "Malbrow," "Mendam," "Lining" (Lynn), and many constables,³⁸ merchants and others are credited by cash, clothing, &c., to these troops, and on that date Treasurer Hull pays them the balance of their accounts. Among the few precious lists of names preserved in the Massachusetts Archives is the Muster Roll³⁹ of Capt. Mosely's company, "taken at Dedham the 9th of Xber, 1675." I have arranged this list and the credits of December 10-20 and January, alphabetically, and tested them carefully otherwise, and find that the greater part of his company were his "veterans."

³⁸ The town of Dunstable, per Constable Jona. Tyng, brings in a bill of about £100 for billeting Mosely's men, ammunition, &c.

Billeting	18 men from 13th August to 10th Sept. 1675	£16 16 00
"	29 " " 11th Sept. " 17th January 1675-6	47 18 00
"	6 " " 18 Jan'y " 25 may 1676	25 03 00
"	3 " " 3 may " 14 July "	08 08 00
25 lbs Powder and 250 bullets, &c.		01 15 00
2 horses 3 days to Pennacook		00 01 06

An Auditing Committee questioned the bill, but he was paid £20 on account, October 11, 1676. (Archives, vol. 68.)

³⁹ This Muster-Roll was published *ante*, vol. viii. p. 241. From this we learn that Dennis Sihy (not Siky, as given in the REGISTER) was Company Clerk, and his list will be found a wonderful production in the way of misspelling names. The transcriber might well doubt Dennis's ability to spell his own name, since the majority of the others are incorrect; but it is always Sihy or Syhy in Hull's accounts. Some of the names are hardly recognizable. I give a few of the worst cases:

Tymothy Arnane, should be Hortman or Horton.
 Aruell is probably Arnell. (Savage thinks Arnold is meant.)
 Hackerberry should be Ockerby (or Ogleby later).
 Bolthomy Flag, Hull has Bartholomew Flegge.
 Puinder should be Provender.
 Tonchwill should be Twichell.
 Hugh Collohane should be Hugh Collohue, Gollihu, and finally Galloway (see below).

I think that there are not more than fifteen on the old roll that do not appear in Hull's Credits sometime within six months, and it is plain from the latter, and the list of killed, that others joined his company after this roll was made and before the fight.

Credited with Military Service under Capt Mosely.
December 10th 1675

John Rice.	04 16 00	Samuel Kemble.	04 19 04
William Blake. ⁴⁰	04 16 00	Timothy Hortman.	02 16 00
Jonathan Freeman.	04 16 00	John Corser.	04 19 02
Samuel Guild.	04 16 00	Daniel Mageniz, <i>Corpl.</i>	05 10 00
John Buckman.	04 19 02	James Updike, <i>Serg^t.</i>	04 09 04
Richard Brine.	04 19 02	Daniel Mathews.	07 09 00
John Cooper.	04 19 04	Mathias Smith.	04 16 00
Thomas Bull.	04 19 04	John Williston.	04 16 00
John Roberts.	04 19 04	John Sherman.	04 13 06
Edward Weston.	05 16 00	William Phillips.	04 19 02
Perez Savage, <i>Lieut.</i>	12 00 00	James Frankling.	05 04 06
John Ireson.	04 16 00	Bartholomew Flegge.	04 19 04
John Brandon.	02 14 00	Benjamin Allen	02 08 00
John Fuller, <i>Corpl.</i>	05 12 00	John Cantelberry	04 16 00
Benjamin Dyer.	04 19 04	Hugh Collohue ⁴¹	04 19 04
James Johnson, <i>Sergt.</i>	04 11 00	Jacob Willar	13 11 00
Zachariah Crisp.	04 00 00	Valentine Harris	02 14 00
Peter Lane.	04 19 04	James Mathews	01 18 06
John Turner.	04 16 00	Daniel Johnson <i>Trumpeter</i>	09 12 00
Richard Rust.	04 16 00	Dec. 20 th	
John Leech.	04 19 04	John Mayo.	04 17 00
Jonathan Nichols.	03 10 02	Thomas Okleby	04 10 00
John Plimpton.	04 16 00	John Casey	01 15 06
Tho ^s Region.	04 12 06	John Langbury	01 10 00
John Cross.	02 02 00	Richard Jinkes	07 04 00
Thomas Green.	04 19 04	Joshua Silverwood	04 12 06
Thomas Harris.	05 02 00	John Morse <i>Commissary</i>	02 15 06
James Dickenden.	04 04 00	1675-6 Jan'y 25.	
Richard Scott.	06 10 00	Benjamin Norden	04 16 00
William Bateman.	01 07 06	Jonathan Gay.	02 03 08
Richard Adams.	04 16 00	George Manning.	01 00 06
Thomas Warren.	06 11 02	Joseph Porter.	01 00 06
John Ramsey.	04 19 04	Josias Hillman.	01 00 06
John Stebins.	02 10 06	Thomas Jones.	01 14 02
Jonathan Wales.	04 19 04	Edward Read.	00 10 04
Timothy Wales.	04 19 04	Robert Parris.	01 10 00
Jeremiah Stokes.	02 14 00	John Langbury.	01 10 00
Joseph Twichell.	04 19 04	February 29, 1675-6	
Samuel Veale.	04 19 04	Daniel Canada.	02 14 00
Andrew Johnson.	04 19 04	James Franklin.	02 14 00
Mathew Thomas.	05 02 00	Jonathan Wales.	02 14 00
Francis Siddall.	04 19 04	George Grimes.	02 14 00
John Dunbar.	04 16 00	John Provender.	02 14 00
Edward Weeden.	04 19 04	John Leech.	02 14 00

⁴⁰ Variations not noted above are. Blacke (W^m Blake, jr. for whose release his father, W^m Senr, petitions the Court), Brien, Wesson, Ayrson (for Ireson), Dayer, Leane, Russ, Leigh, Plimton, Dichetto, Stebence, Weals, Stockes, Cousier, McKennyes, Willingston, Canterberry, and other minor changes.

⁴¹ August, 1676. George Nowell petitions for the release of his servant "Hugh Galloway that went as a Volunteer under Mosely neere the beginning of ye warre, and is now in y^e garrison at Hatfield under Capt Sweane."

Hugh Gollihu (Collohue)	02 14 00	Peter Leane.	02 14 10
William Bateman.	04 01 00	William Smallage.	08 15 06
Joshuah Silverwood.	03 00 00	Richard Gibson.	02 14 10
John Bucknum.	02 14 00	Thomas Ockerby.	02 14 10
Edward Weston.	03 03 00	Jonathan Wales.	02 14 10
Benjamin Dyer.	02 14 00	Richard Randall.	02 02 00
March 24 th 1675-6		Joseph Wakefield.	02 14 10
Daniel Mathews.	01 16 00	William Blake jr.	02 14 00
Samuel Colebourne.	02 14 00	John Essery.	04 10 10
John Stebbins.	03 00 00	Thomas Warren.	02 14 10
John Brandon.	03 00 00	Philip Keane.	02 02 00
Jonathan Freeman.	02 14 00	Edward Weason.	03 02 00
John Williston.	02 14 00	Joseph Douse.	02 14 10
Daniel Matthews.	02 05 00	Stephen Fielder.	02 14 10
James Johnson.	05 10 00	Joseph Pratt.	02 14 00
Richard Gibson.	03 17 00	Thomas Bishop.	00 18 06
John Farmer.	08 12 03	Joseph Deers.	02 02 00
John Canterbery.	03 03 00	Richard Addams,	05 08 00
John Cooper.	02 14 00	James Couch.	02 14 10
James Updike.	02 14 00	John Ramsey.	02 14 10
April 24 th 1676		Thomas Webb.	02 02 00
John Munge.	02 14 00	Daniel Clow.	02 08 00
John Shepard.	03 12 00	John Wilkins.	02 14 10
Thomas Davis.	02 14 00	Matthew Thomas.	02 14 10
Sam ^l Guile.	04 01 00	Samuel Leman.	02 14 10
James Mollard.	01 17 06	Richard Cowell.	03 02 00
Dennis Sihy.	07 02 09	Daniel East.	02 14 10
Thomas Bull.	03 03 00	Thomas Hitchborn.	02 14 10
Richard Randall.	06 15 04	Samuel Fosdike.	02 14 00
Richard Brian.	02 14 00	John Hawkins.	02 14 00
John Day.	02 14 00	David Landon.	02 14 10
Edward Weston.	01 11 00	Seabread Taylor.	02 02 00
Richard Gibson.	02 14 00	John Long.	02 14 10
Thomas Welch.	04 08 02	Peter Bennett, <i>Lieut.</i>	06 15 00
John Ramsey.	02 14 00	John Wenstead.	02 14 00
Thomas Furbush.	00 18 00	Edmund Chamberlain.	00 12 00
John Rosse.	02 14 00	Jacob Cole.	03 00 00
William Philips.	02 14 00	Edward Walker.	02 14 00
John Rice.	02 14 00	Joseph Low.	04 10 10
James Chadwick.	04 04 00	Joseph Graves.	01 04 00
Edward Weeden.	02 14 00	Roger Brown.	02 14 00
June 24 th 1676		Thomas Bull.	03 03 00
Thomas Forbs.	02 12 00	Joseph Douse.	02 14 00
John Pemerton.	03 03 00	James Smith.	05 08 00
John Leech.	02 14 00	Dennis Sihy.	04 00 00
William Maderill.	02 14 10		

It will be remembered that the credits for service were given at the close of such service, or at regular monthly or bi-monthly settlements. It often happened that the men would be separated from their officers, at garrisons on special duties, and so waiting the official signature the bill would be delayed sometimes for a year. Many

who were in the Narragansett campaign were not paid off till the general settlement, June 24th, 1676. And though many of the credits represent later service, yet I judge the oft-repeated amount, £02 14 00, represents the "Fort" campaign. This will hold in nearly every case, though not all. Thomas May was in that campaign and received no credit until September 23, 1676. The credits in other companies confirm this theory.

I can only briefly sketch in outline the chief events of this campaign, and refer the reader to the very full accounts of the march and battle given in Hubbard, Church, Mather, &c., and Mr. Drake's Book of Indians.

The forces under Gen. Winslow marched on the afternoon of December 9th to Woodcock's Garrison, and December 10th to Seaconk. From thence Capt. Mosely and his men sailed with Mr. Richard Smith⁴² across the bay, and then marched to his Garrison-House at Wickford in Narragansett, arriving in the evening, having taken a party of thirty-six Indians on the way.

Gen. Winslow with the other forces ferried over to Providence, and marched through "Pomham's" territory, in hopes to capture that sachem, to the rendezvous at Smith's Garrison, on the evening of Dec. 12th. Mosely had captured one Peter, an Indian, who betrayed Philip, and becomes invaluable to the army as a faithful guide, actuated probably by desire of revenge. On December 14th the General marched out with his forces to explore the surrounding country, and Sergt. (John) Bennet,⁴³ with thirty men of Capt. Oliver's company, went out scouting, and killed two Indians and captured eight more.

On the 15th occurred a skirmish at a certain stone-wall, where twenty or thirty Indians discharged their guns at Capt. Mosely at once without effect. On the same evening the Garrison-House of Jireh (Jerry) Bull at Petequanscut was destroyed, and seventeen persons killed, of which news was brought next day by Capt. Prentice's troop, and on the 17th the Connecticut forces, 300 English and 150 Mohegans, arrived at the same place, and on the 18th the whole force of Massachusetts and Plymouth met them there about 5 P.M.

Bull's Garrison had been intended for the general rendezvous, and its loss was severely felt, as the army was forced to spend the entire night without shelter. At 5 A.M. the next morning, December

⁴² Mr. Church relates that he went across to Wickford with Mr. Smith, but omits any mention of Capt. Mosely and his company, and their capture of 36 Indians in the march to Wickford, but tells of 18 that himself took with the "Eldridges and some other brisk hands." Church never omits to tell of his own exploits at full length. Mosely was the most popular officer of the army, and undoubtedly excited Church's anger and perhaps jealousy by ignoring and opposing him. Mosely, the successful captain at the head of a strong company of veterans, would not readily accept commands from one without title or company, whose best service hitherto had been only in scouting and skirmishing with small irregular parties. Church writes his own adventures. Mosely's can never be known fully, but what we have shows him to be brave, popular with both the army and at home, and wonderfully successful.

⁴³ Doubtless John Bennet the scout, who had been among the Narragansetts in the summer with Hutchinson. A John Bennett is in the list of slain at Bloody Brook.

19th, they took up the march towards the Fort, and waded fifteen miles through snow two or three feet deep, and came about 1 P.M. to the swamp, which by reason of the intense cold was frozen, so that they could march without breaking through, and our forces meeting Indians at the edge of the swamp, began the attack at once and pursued them furiously and without much regard to orders, even to the sides of the Fort.⁴⁴ Mosely's and Davenport's companies led the van.

The fortification was strong and bravely defended, but nothing could resist the intrepid assaults of our forces, and after heavy losses and several hours' fighting, the Indians were either driven out or killed, the immense fortress and its huts and stores destroyed (foolishly it seemed to some at that time), and in the evening our weary troops were forced to march back through the snow, carrying their wounded, to head quarters, whence they had marched in the morning. The suffering was incredible; and I believe that if the whole history of that 19th day of December, 1675, were known, no braver day would stand in our country's annals for heroic daring and suffering. Six of the captains were killed—Davenport, Gardner, Johnson and Lt. Upham (mortally wounded) of Massachusetts; Cpts. Gallop, Siely and Marshall of Connecticut. Further account of the Massachusetts officers is referred to future articles of the series.

The following list of "Wounded and Slayne" in Capt. Mosely's company, is in the Archives, vol. 68 :

6 men	{	John Farmer, Boston
		Richard Barnam, "
		Jerre Stockes, "
Slayne	{	W ^m Bourle, ⁴⁵ Charlestown
		Edmund Chamberlain, Maulden
		Richard Updick, Narragansett
9 Wounded men are on 6 Jan'y, at Rhode Island with 5 Souldg ^{rs} to attend the wounded men there	{	Lieut. Perez Savage Boston
		John Brandon "
		John Sherman, Watertown.
		James Updick, Boston.
		James Chadwick, Malden.
		John Fuller, Dedham.
		John Shepheard, Charlestown.
		Rich ^d Addams of Sudbury.
Samuel Fosdick. Thomas Weales. James Dighenton. (Dichetto) Joseph Low. Joshua Silverwood.	{	Jacob Coole, Charlestown.
		To attend ⁴⁶

⁴⁴ This Fort was upon a sort of island or rising ground containing about 5 or 6 acres in the midst of the swamp. The place was situated in what is now South Kingston, R. I. For description of the Fort and the fight, see Hubbard's Narrative, and Church, &c.

⁴⁵ Doubtless means W^m Burt.

⁴⁶ Daniel Weld, surgeon, is credited £10; is probably the Dr. Wells referred to in

Mr. Hubbard states the number of Mosely's men killed to be nine, wounded ten. Whole number of English killed, above 80, and 150 wounded that recovered. He puts the number of Indians killed at 1000 warriors, and many of the aged and women and children. The troops returned to Smith's Garrison that night, and cared for their wounded; and Church relates that Mr. Andrew Belcher⁴⁷ arrived that evening at Wickford with a vessel laden with supplies, without which there must have been great suffering.

The troops remained mostly inactive during the rest of the winter, seeking to bring the Indians to terms of a permanent peace. There was some scouting and frequent captures, but no general action. Jan. 10, new forces were sent down from Boston, and the army was recruited to 1600 men, and on Jan. 27th began to move in pursuit of the Indians, who had now renewed their depredations. At last, in the early part of February, having pursued them around as far as Marlborough and Brookfield, they were forced to leave the pursuit for want of provisions and rest, and marched into Boston. On the 5th of February the Major was ordered to dismiss his soldiers to their several homes to await further orders. On February 15th Capt. Mosely was ordered to march with his company to Sudbury, and there to abide till further orders.

These credits cover various services from Dec. 10, 1675.

July 24th 1676		Jacob Allin.	01 05 08
Henry Swaine.	02 13 00	Samuel Clark.	03 03 04
Richard Bennett.	08 08 00	James Couch.	00 19 03
Gilbert Endecott.	05 08 09	John Hands.	00 15 00
John Day.	02 14 09	John Dunbarr.	02 12 02
Sam ^l Colborne.	02 14 10	Benjamin Lathrop.	02 08 00
Samuel Guild.	04 02 00	John Salter.	01 14 02
Gilbert Forsith.	04 02 00	Ezekiel Hamblin.	00 12 10
Perez Savage, <i>Lieut.</i>	07 16 00	Roger Prosser.	00 19 03
Samuel Measie.	02 13 00	Andrew Johnson.	02 14 10
John Oates.	03 12 00	Jonathan Sprague.	00 18 10
William Wainright.	02 14 10	John Pitcher.	00 12 10
Jeffery Jeffers.	02 09 06	John Harrison.	00 12 10
Richard Silvester.	00 18 00	John Auger.	00 12 10
Armstrong Horner.	02 14 00	David Langdon.	00 12 10
John Mousall.	02 14 00	John Sibly.	00 12 10
August 24. 1676		Francis Earle.	00 10 02
Roger Prosser.	02 02 00	Nathaniel Badcock.	00 10 02
Peter Mellardy.	00 10 02	John Goff.	00 15 00
John Gilbert.	00 12 10	Joseph Wakefield.	00 12 10
Joseph Saxton.	00 12 10	Perez Savage.	01 12 02

petition of Holman above. He was "Chirurgion General," and was of Salem. There is a credit to George Thomas, Dec. 10, for "Chyrurgion Instruments for Dr. Weld and Dr. Knott" (Richard Knott of Marblehead). These were with the wounded probably, and also Dr. Philip Read, of Lynn, and Dr. William Hawkins, Boston.

⁴⁷ In a bill presented by Capt. Benjamin Gillam, dated Jan. 19, 1675, is the item, "To charges on men to cut out Andrew Belcher's Sloop to goe to Narragansett, 14s."

John Minds.	00 18 10	James Marshall.	00 12 10
Israel Howen. ⁴⁸	00 10 02	Samuel Davis.	00 15 00
Joseph Butler.	00 10 02	William Bassly.	01 16 10
Mark Round.	02 14 10	Thomas May.	02 14 00
September 23 ^d , 1676.		Archibell Forrest.	02 14 10
John Prescott.	00 10 02	John Gilbert, Senior.	00 12 10
John Mudg.	02 14 10	James Wamsly	02 14 00

From Sudbury he soon after marched to Marlboro', where he seems to have remained several weeks, taking a large part in the negotiations concerning the redemption of captives, regulating (?) the affairs of the friendly Indians, &c. It is evident that he was always impatient of commands from his superior officers. The "seniority" rule of precedence was strictly adhered to in the colonial army, and in active service we find him constantly either disregarding or avoiding it. It is evident, even from Church's own account, that at the Fort fight Gen. Winslow was only nominally in command; for when by Church's advice he had resolved to hold the fort and remain, "a certain Captain" threatened to shoot his horse under him if he attempted to enter with his troops, and "in a great heat" declared that Church had "lied" to him about the situation, and then a certain Doctor "brusled up" and supported the said captain. There is little doubt that this captain was Mosely. The exploits of Mr. Church in this campaign seem not to have been known to any of the early historians except himself. It is plain that the Massachusetts officers, especially Mosely at the head of his veterans, flushed with the fresh victory in which Church had no part, would regard his interference as that of an insolent upstart. As an evidence of Capt. Mosely's great popularity may be noticed the large commission granted him by the Court, May 5, 1676 (see vol. vi. Mass. Coll. Records), and the wide margin left to his own interpretation. This popularity with the army and the violent party of Indian-haters, together with his eminent success in the field, and probably his near relationship to the Governor's family, supported him in many notorious acts of insubordination and insolence towards his superiors, and even the Council. The hanging of Indians, referred to in his letter, was probably his "tying up" of the two Indian captives and extorting their evidence against the eleven seized at Marlboro'. The affair of Job Kattenanit, a tried and faithful "praying" Indian, whom, for his faithful service, Gen. Denison, by the advice of Major Savage, had given liberty to seek out his family held as captives by Philip's allies, shows Mosely's influence, for he came to the General's head-quarters and denounced both officers, and raised such a storm of indignation that they were obliged to send forthwith to bring Job back; and although members of the Council were very indignant at his insolent conduct, he was not even reprimanded, either for this act or his high-handed proceeding at Concord, where

⁴⁸ Sometimes called Howell.

he entered the congregation on the Sabbath and harangued the people against the peaceful Nashobah Indians, whom the Council had placed in the charge of Mr. Hoare, and then seized the Indians, allowing his soldiers to plunder all their possessions in spite of Mr. Hoare's remonstrances, and marched them down to Boston, whence the Court was constrained to send them to Deer Island, where with many other friendly Indians they were subjected to fearful privations. A full account of all these transactions may be found in the History of the Praying Indians by that upright and noble man, Gen. Daniel Gookin.

Capt. Mosely marched with Major Savage from Marlborough to Quaboag, April 2, 1676. They were there joined by the Connecticut troops, and all moved on towards Northampton, and he was engaged in the succeeding campaign in the west. On May 5th he received the independent commission referred to above, and it will be noticed that the wages of his soldiers were to be raised by popular subscription, and besides they were to have all the profits accruing from the plunder or sale of captives, and if these resources failed the Court was to make up the balance; and this irregular way of settling may be the reason that no larger credits appear in the later months. In June, Mosely and his men were sent in company with Capt. Brattle and his troop to assist the people of Plymouth Colony, and were still there after July 22d; and they there took part in the capture of the 150 captives, and probably soon after returned to Boston. The faithful services of the friendly Indians in the later campaigns had caused a reaction of popular feeling towards them. The fame of Church, who succeeded in destroying Philip at Mount Hope, August 12th, somewhat eclipsed that of Capt. Mosely, and we hear no more of his military service thereafter, if he performed any. On August 24th, at a great sale of Indian captives, he is charged with "1 boy and girle 6£; & 13 sqawes & papooses 20£"; and this is the last notice I find of him throwing light upon his succeeding career.

The date and circumstances of Capt. Mosely's death are not, as yet, definitely known. Savage says he died January, 1680. The "Inventory of the Estate of Cap^m Sam^l Mosely" deceased was taken Jan. 26, 1679 (N. S. 1680), and may have been Mr. Savage's authority. In Judge Sewall's Interleaved Almanac Diary (REGISTER, vii. 208) this item appears: "1677, Oct. 20, 7, Capt S. Mosely." But we are left in doubt as to its meaning. His final account as found in Hull's 3d Ledger (the 2d Ledger is lost), under date of July, 1678, credits him with military service, £67 05 06, which I presume was in full for his whole service. Sometime after September, 1678, £1 credit is given "per. Isaac Addington," to balance Mosely's account with the government. He died insolvent. The careful inventory, rendered by Sewall, of the worldly possessions as produced by Ann Mosely the widow, who was admitted ad-

ministratrix January 30, 1679-80, makes no mention of any arms or clothing except an old musket and sword in the "Garret." This circumstance, with some others, and a lack of any official reference to his death, would seem to indicate that it happened away from home.

Ann Mosely, thrown upon her own resources for maintenance, was granted a license by the town authorities, in 1681 and 1682, "To sell wine and stronge liquors out of dores." That she prospered is proved by the deed of trust to her brothers, Isaac Addington and Penn Townsend, 1684, in favor of her daughters, "her only living children," just before she married Nehemiah Pierce, "set-work-cooper." He died in 1691, leaving her again a widow.

The son Samuel died young, doubtless. The daughter Rebecca married January 22, 1694, James Townsend; and Mary married William Webster, November 25, 1696. Rebecca married again in 1708, Jonathan Williams, who in 1733 appears as the Narragansett claimant in the "right of his wife's Father Capt Maudesley."

Capt. Mosely's descendants were quite numerous in the second and third generation, through Rebecca's children by Townsend and Williams.

NO. III.

CAPT. THOMAS PRENTICE AND HIS TROOP.

IT may be in order here to recall attention to the very efficient organization of the colonial militia, noted in Article I. We have seen that Capt. Henschman's foot company was made up of quotas of men from all the surrounding towns; Capt. Mosely's was of hastily collected volunteers, and we now come to the third branch of the service, the "Troopers," in some respects the most important. It seems to have been a matter of solicitude in the colony for many years to increase the number of horses, and as early as 1648 laws were passed encouraging the formation of cavalry companies. Those who would enlist as troopers in local companies and keep horses were allowed five shillings per year, and their head-and-horse-tax abated. It naturally followed that the most thrifty and well-to-do in the colony would become troopers, and the men of greatest ability and influence would be made their officers. At the beginning of the war there were five regular cavalry companies or "troops" in the colony. The Suffolk County Troop was commanded by Capt. William Davis, who died October, 1676, and was succeeded by Lieut. Thomas Brattle. The Middlesex Troop was commanded by Capt. Thomas Prentice. Essex County had two troops, one raised in Salem and Lynn, of which George Corwin was captain. Another, raised in Ipswich, Newbury and Rowley, of which John Appleton was captain. In Hampshire and Norfolk the horsemen were attached to the various companies in the regiment, eight or ten to each company of foot. Besides these regulars, there was an independent company raised at large in the counties of Suffolk, Middlesex and Essex, called the "Three County Troop." Edward Hutchinson had command of this up to October, 1674, but then resigned, and the court had not found a suitable successor who was willing to accept the appointment, and Lieut. William Haisy was in command in June, 1675. Out of these "troops" quotas were drawn to make up the company required for special service, and officers were chosen at the option of the court. In this first campaign the troopers were mostly from the towns immediately around Boston; and, in addition to these, were a few Indians from Natick and Punkapoag. The Captain and Lieutenant were from Cambridge, and the Cornet from Woburn.

The commander, Capt. Thomas Prentice, was born in England

about 1620. He came with wife Grace and daughter Grace to Cambridge, and settled on south side of the river; freeman 1652. (For further account, see Binney's History of the Prentice family, Paige's History of Cambridge, and Jackson's History of Newton.) He was a very active and influential man, and a trusted officer both in civil and military service. He died 1709, July 7, aged 89 years.

Capt. Prentice was appointed captain of the special Troop, June 24, 1675, and sent out with Capt. Henschman, as has been related. On arriving at Swansey, at Miles's garrison, the Indians began firing from the bushes across the river at our guards, and twelve of the troopers volunteered to go over the bridge and drive them off. These were commanded by Quartermaster Joseph Belcher (hitherto supposed to have been Andrew, but the Journal settles the point) and Corporal John Gill. Mr. Church went along with them and also a stranger, and William Hammond acted as pilot. As they advanced across the bridge the Indians fired upon them and wounded Mr. Belcher in the knee, killed his horse, and shot Gill in the breast, but his buff coat and several thicknesses of paper saved him from injury. They killed the pilot outright, and the troopers were forced to retreat, bringing off Hammond and his horse. On the renewal of the attack by the Indians next morning, the troop, supported by Moseley's volunteers, charged across the bridge and drove the Indians from the "Neck" and across to Pocasset. June 30th was spent by the army traversing Mount Hope neck, and at evening Capt. Prentice with his troop rode to Rehoboth and quartered over night. On the morning of July 1st he divided the troop, sending one division back under command of Lieut. Edward Oakes (not Thomas, as in Mr. Drake's note, Hubbard, page 70). It is not certain whether both divisions rode back by the same route, but it would seem thus from the result. The captain's division came upon the Indians burning a house, but could not get at them on account of several fences which had to be torn down, giving the Indians time to retreat to a swamp. Lieut. Oakes's force, however, discovered them from a more advantageous quarter, and chasing them over a plain killed two of Philip's chief men, but in the fight lost one of their own men, John Druse⁴⁹ of Roxbury. The next few days Capt. Prentice and his troop spent in searching the swamps, and then went with the army to Narragansett, as has been related heretofore. Capt. Prentice's name stands second of the signers to the treaty with the Indians, July 15, 1675.

After the return to Swansey and the news that Philip was shut up in Pocasset Swamp, when the main body of Massachusetts troops were sent away to Boston, Capt. Prentice and his troop were

⁴⁹ In his note in Hubbard, page 73, Mr. Drake says Druse was not killed outright, but lived to reach his home. Mr. Savage says he was "brought home and died next day," but in the Roxbury records (Vol. vi. Report of Record Commissioners, memorandum of Amos Adams, p. 182) I find this, with a wrong date evidently, "John Druse dyed in the wars & was there buried. he acquitted himself valiantly."

ordered to scout towards Mendon, where the Indians had lately made an assault upon the people, killing several. The troopers met Capt. Johnson's company at Mendon, as will appear from the following minutes of the Council :

(Mass. Archives, vol. 67, p. 226.)

"July 26th 1675 Council Mett."

"The Council on perusing of y^e letter of Capt Prentice & capt Johnson, Dated July 23^d 1675, judged it meet to order that Capt Prentice & his Troopers be presently called home & y^t Capt. Johnson with his Souldiers be also sent to Returne leaving of his foot Souldiers the Scouts(?) to remayne as a Guard to Mendon and of his foote at Wrentham as their Guard Referring it to the sayd Captaine to consult with the Sarjant or other chiefe Officers of each Towne how many to leave at each Towne with their Armes ? Remayne till further order."

The letter referred to is now lost from the files.

The following are the soldiers who served in the first or Mt. Hope campaign :

August 27 th 1675			
		Nehemiah Hayden.	01 07 00
John Needham.	02 00 00	James Whitehead.	02 00 00
Jonathan Fairbank.	01 18 06	John Wayman, <i>Cornet</i>	04 17 00
Samuel Pollard.	01 18 06	September 3 ^d 1675	
Fathergon Dinely.	02 03 00	John Bisco.	02 08 06
William Brooks.	02 03 00	Oliver Willington.	02 08 06
William Agur.	02 08 06	John Mason.	02 03 00
Jabes Jackson.	02 08 06	William Bond.	02 00 00
Francis Wayman.	02 01 06	Thomas Boylston.	02 17 06
Samuel Culliver.	02 03 06	September 16 th	
Thomas Woolson.	02 08 06	James Indian.	02 04 08
John Livermore.	02 08 06	Thomas Indian.	02 04 08
John Gibson.	01 01 06	September 21 st	
William Read.	02 03 00	Matthew Bridge, <i>Qr Mr</i>	03 13 00
Benjamin Moore.	02 03 00	Anthony Cooke.	01 00 00
William Brown.	02 03 00	John Druse.	00 11 06
Joseph Parmiter.	02 04 03	Edward Oakes, <i>Lieut.</i>	05 00 00
Joseph Curtice.	02 03 00	Thomas Oliver.	01 01 06
Daniel Dean.	02 08 06	John Clark.	02 03 00
Thomas Goble.	02 08 06	Thomas Hunter.	01 11 04
Ebenezer Prout.	02 08 06	Felix Indian.	01 00 06
James Miller.	02 08 06	Benjamin Ahaton.	00 10 00
Robert Evans.	02 08 06	Harry Indian.	01 00 06
John Baxter.	02 08 06	John Adams.	01 00 00
Solomon Phips, <i>Corp^r</i>	02 18 04	Jeremie Indian.	01 00 06
Benjamin Scott.	02 02 06	Zachary Phillips.	02 10 00
Christopher Grant.	01 00 00	Joseph Allin.	04 00 00
Nathaniel Howard.	01 13 00	Jonathan Orris.	01 18 06
Stephen Pain.	02 08 06	David Thomas.	01 10 00
Henry Summers.	02 18 04	Caleb Carter.	01 12 06
Jonathan Bunker.	02 03 00	Abraham Skinner.	01 08 00
James Lowden.	02 08 06	November 30 th 1675	
John Fowle.	01 13 00	Nathaniel Richards.	02 03 00
John Gill, <i>Corp^r</i> .	02 11 00	Samuel Payson.	02 03 00
Joseph Belcher, <i>Qar^{tr} Mr</i>	02 01 00		

Dec. 3d, 1675, Capt. Prentice is appointed to command a troop of horse in the Narraganset campaign, joined the army at Dedham plain, and marched with it, as related heretofore, to Wickford, whence on the 16th he rode with his troop to Petaquanscut, and brought back the news of the destruction of Bull's garrison.⁵⁰ On the 19th took part in the battle at the fort. All the mention of his presence that I have found is the pair of mittens that Church had borrowed of him, which were "wounded" in Church's pocket.

But in the Archives, vol. 68, page 104, I find that John Wyman,⁵¹ of his troop, was killed, and Nathan Richardson and Nathan Belins (Billings) of Woburn, and Samuel Stone of Cambridge, were wounded.

After this battle Capt. Prentice was active in the subsequent scouting raids into the adjoining country. On December 27 he rode into Pomham's country (now Warwick, R. I.) and destroyed many wigwams of an Indian village, but found no Indians. On January 21 he was again scouting, and met with a party of Indians, of whom two were captured and nine killed. On the 27th the army started in pursuit of the enemy, and after several days marching returned to Boston, and the Massachusetts men were dismissed, for the time, to their homes.

The following is the list of credits for this campaign. Appended is a list of the same, as returned from the various local companies for this service, copied from Mass. Archives, vol. 68, showing the localities from which they came.

February 29, 1675-6		John Adams.		04 10 00
Joseph Peniman.	04 10 00	Joseph Plummer.		04 00 00
Joseph Weeden.	04 10 00	Charles Blinko.		04 10 00
Samuel Weeden.	04 10 00	William Miriam.		04 10 00
Henry Kenny.	01 10 00	John Edmons.		04 10 00
John Spaford.	04 10 00	Thomas Johnson.		04 10 00
Joseph Moore.	04 10 00	John Welcott.		04 10 00
Thomas Brown.	04 10 00	March 24 th 1675-6		
James Burnam.	04 10 00	Richard Mather.		04 10 00
Nathaniel Ballard.	04 10 00	Nathaniel Billinge.		04 10 00
Thomas Putman.	04 10 00	John Andrews.		04 10 00
Edmond Potter.	04 10 00	Joseph Marshall.		04 10 00
Daniel Champnes.	06 12 00	William Kent.		04 10 00
William Delaway.	04 10 00	John Windham.		04 10 00

⁵⁰ A writer in Drake's Old Indian Chronicle, so called, relates that on this occasion Capt. Prentice's troop took fifty-five Indians, killed ten, and burnt one hundred and fifty wigwams, and had four of their own men killed and four wounded, but this may be and probably is a mingling of several occasions, that in "Pomham's Country," and that on January 21st.

⁵¹ In same volume, page 159, is a petition of Lieut. John Wyman, asking for the release of his son who is lately married, and he states that himself has been in both the Mt. Hope and Narragansett campaigns, and at last place received a wound in the face; that his eldest son was slain at Narragansett, and a servant is in the country's service all the past winter, &c.

Vol. 69, p. 1, we find the complaint of John Seers, Constable, that this John Wyman and his daughter Bathsheba have resisted the impressment of one of his horses for the country's use, and in Hull's account they are each charged £2 fine for that offence.

Jacob Nash.	04 10 00	John Stern.	04 10 00
John Eames.	04 10 00	Joseph Hutchinson.	05 08 00
James Lowden.	04 10 00	John Richards.	04 10 00
Samuel Payson.	04 10 00	Thomas Geery.	04 10 00
William Shattock.	04 10 00	Francis Wayman.	04 10 00
John Bush.	04 10 00	John Barrett.	04 10 00
Thomas Goble.	05 08 00	Nath. Richardson.	04 10 00
John Pason.	04 10 00	Hugh Taylor.	04 10 00
Joseph Wright.	04 10 00	Caleb Grant.	04 10 00
June 24 th 1676.		Thomas Peirce.	04 10 00
John Willington.	02 08 06	Thomas Hodgman.	04 10 00
John Guppy.	01 10 00	Benjamin Davis.	04 10 00
Samuel Chapman.	04 10 00	John Aey.	05 08 00
Joseph Grout.	04 10 00	Stephen Cooke.	02 05 08
Daniel Thurston.	04 10 00	Isaac Brooks.	06 15 00
William Dodg.	04 16 00	Increases Wing.	04 10 00
John Aey.	04 02 00	Henry Summers.	02 18 03
Joseph Parmiter.	04 10 00	John Kendall.	04 10 00
Henry Ellitt.	04 10 00	Samuel Stone.	04 10 00
John Wyman, <i>Lieut.</i>	11 05 00	Samuel Whiting.	04 10 00
Thomas Prentice, <i>Capt.</i>	18 00 00	Nathaniel Cann.	04 10 00
William Mingo.	04 10 00	John Wyman.	00 15 08

List of Capt. Prentice's Troopers. (Mass. Arch., vol. 68, p. 73.)

On the back of this list is written, "Capt. Prentise's 73 Troopers."

Troopers belonging to Capt. Appleton's Troope.

James Burnum, John Andrews, Edmond Potter, Samuel Chapman, John Asee (Aey),⁵² John Spaford, Daniel Thurston, Joseph Plumer, John Woollecock, Thomas Johnson. 10.

Troopers belonging to Capt. Curwin.

Steeven Haseull (Hasket), Charles Blincko (for Jon^a Corwins), Thomas Howard (for Benj. Browne), William Dodge (Jr.) Thomas Putman Junieur, John Richards, Nathaniel Ballard junr, John Edmonds, William Merriam, Thomas Flint (Senr).

Troopers belonging to Capt. Hutchinson.

Mr. Eliakim Hutchason, Benjamin Muzzey, Sam^l Weeden, Joseph Weeden, John Guppie (Goopy), Daniel Greenland, John Barret, Thomas Hodgman, Benj^a Daveis, John Gool (Gould), Joseph Marshall, Thomas Geery (Grary), Thomas Hart, Isack Brooks, Joseph Right (Wright), John Kindall, Nath^l Richardson, Thomas Pearce, Increases Wing, Nath^l Cann.

Troopers belonging to Captin Davis.

William Kent, John Ruggles, Sampson Chester, William Towers, [John Miner erased], Henry Eliot, John Person (Pason), Richard Mather Junieur, Martin Sanders, Crosby of Braintree (Joseph), Joseph Penniman, Samuel Haidne (Haiden), Ebenezer Haidne (Haiden), John Riplee, Samuel Whitney. 14.

Troopers belonging to Middlesex.

Mr John Long, Mr Joseph Line, James Lowdne (Lowden), Thomas Browne, John Adams, Samuel Stone Junieur, Daniel Champney, John Eams, William Shattock, John Stearns, Caleb Grant, Joseph Gronte, Joseph Moore, Joseph Parmiter, David Stone, Nathaniel Billing, Thomas Goble Junieur, Ebenezer Proute, John Wyman Junieur, Francis Wyman Junieur. 19.

"73 besides Peter Woodward & Joseph Proute."

⁵² The names in brackets are added from another list on page 100 of the same volume.

In the aforesaid Indian Chronicle it is related that Capt. Prentice with six troopers went to the rescue of that portion of Capt. Wadsworth's ill-fated company that took refuge in the mill at Sudbury, and these three names may be of those troopers.

Aug 24 1676		John Cuttin.	00 18 06
Samuel Church.	00 11 05	Samuel Goff.	01 00 00

Capt. Prentice had charge of the impressment and equipment of Middlesex men in the winter and spring of 1675-6, as shown by various orders of the court to furnish troopers, guards and scouts. He had much to do later in settling the affairs of the friendly Indians, by whom he was greatly respected. After the death of Philip, the Nipnet sachem John, accepting the court's amnesty, came in with some of his men, and were kept in Capt. Prentice's charge at his house. A credit of £6 "for fetcheng y^e Natick Indians" refers to his conducting their removal in 1676 to Deer Island. July, 1689, Capt. Prentice, with Mr. Noah Wiswall, was sent to arrange matters with the uneasy Puncckapoags and Naticks. When Sir Edmund Andros, on July 2, escaped from prison in Boston and fled to Rhode Island, Capt. Prentice was ordered to march down with his troop and receive him after he was arrested by the people at Rhode Island. This order he obeys, and writes the Court from Bristol, July 8th, an account of his reception of the prisoner, and his purpose to return by way of Dorchester to the Castle, to avoid disturbance. (See Mass. Archives, vol. 107, page 256; also the "Andros Tracts," voll. iii. page 101.) In Archives, vol. 106, page 435, is a certificate from Capt. Prentice that he was billeted with his troop on the journey to and return from Rhode Island, two nights at Woodcock's tavern. On the death of Major Gookin, the various tribes of "Praying" Indians petitioned the court in 1691 to appoint Capt. Prentice superintendent of their affairs in the beloved Gookin's place.

LIEUT. EDWARD OAKES AND HIS TROOPERS.

Edward Oakes came from England before 1640; freeman at Cambridge, May 18, 1642; brought from England wife Jane and sons Urian and Edward; had baptized at Cambridge Mary and Thomas; was selectman twenty-six years, from 1643 to 1678; deputy to General Court from Cambridge fifteen years, between 1659 and 1681, and from Concord 1683, '4 and '6; Lieutenant of Capt. Prentice's troop, June, 1675, and served in the summer campaign at Mount Hope, of which account is given above. The service for which the following credits are given was probably rendered in the winter of 1675-6. From the letter⁵³ of Rev. John Wilson, of Medfield, February 14, Archives vol. 68, page 134 (and published in

⁵³ A P.S. to this letter is omitted in the publication, which is as follows: "Hon^d S^{rs} I wrote these lines not knowing y^t Capt Oakes would come downe, being not fully satisfied in his own mind he comes down to communicate what he understandeth of things."

the Rev. C. C. Sewall's Address at the Bi-Centennial of the Burning of Medfield) it appears that Lieut. (or, as he is called, Captain) Oakes was at Lancaster after its destruction February 10th, and was afterwards scouting between Marlborough and Medfield, and at the attack on February 21, was quartered there with his troopers. Simon Crosby puts in a small bill for billeting his troop at Billerica, but date of service does not appear. He died at Concord, October 13, 1689, aged, probably, 85 years.

Credits under Lieut. Edward Oakes.

March 24 th 1675-6	John Seers.	01 00 00	
James Miller.	01 12 10	Timothy Simmes.	01 09 06
John Gibson.	01 12 10	Matthew Griffin.	00 19 08
Solomon Phips, <i>Qatr Mr.</i>	02 09 04	John Teed.	02 16 06
Thomas Creswell (Croswell)		W ^m Auger (Agur, Alger)	01 12 10
	01 12 10	Timothy Hawkins.	01 12 10
April 24 th , 1676	John Mousall.	01 12 10	
John Hastings.	00 19 08	<i>Capt Oakes.</i> July 24 th 1676	
Luke Perkins.	00 19 08	Jacob Hill.	00 19 08
Stephen Cooledg.	00 19 08	Samuel Hayward.	01 10 00
Samuel Whiting.	00 19 08	Henry Spring.	01 12 10
June 24 th , 1676	Thomas Mitchenson.	00 19 08	
Thomas Peirce.	00 19 08	Joseph Cooke. ⁵⁴	04 02 00
Thomas Edmons.	00 19 08	Thomas Frost.	01 00 06
William Reade.	00 19 08	Edward Oakes.	06 11 00
Jonathan Bunker.	01 12 10	August 24 th 1676.	
Stephen Paine.	01 12 10	John Streeter.	00 19 08
Thomas Henshaw.	01 11 04	James Prentice.	00 18 00
Stephen Richardson.	01 12 10	Sept 23 ^d , 1676	
Christopher Grant.	01 12 10	John Green.	01 12 10
Thomas Strait.	01 03 00	John Fowle.	01 19 04

CAPT. NICHOLAS PAIGE AND HIS TROOP.

Capt. Nicholas Paige came from Plymouth, England. He was in Boston as early as 1665. In 1675, June 27th, was appointed captain of a troop to accompany Maj. Thomas Savage in the expedition to Mt. Hope; took part in the movements there; accompanied the army to Narragansett and back, and then returned to Boston with Major Savage and disbanded his men, and there is no farther account of any service in this war.

Capt. Paige was active in business, and in the civil affairs later on; was of the Artillery Company, 1693; later its commander and a colonel. He died in 1717. He left no children, and in the joint will of Nicholas and wife Anna, made in 1703, after many small legacies, gave the bulk of property, including the farm at Rumney-Marsh, where they lived, to their kinswoman Martha Hobbs, also made her executrix and gave her some good advice about marrying⁵⁵ into a godly family; should she fail of issue the property goes to his

⁵⁴ Cambridge, appointed lieutenant of Capt. Gookin's company, 1677.

⁵⁵ She married Capt. Nathaniel Oliver, 1709, and had children, Paige and Martha.

cousin William Paige, of London, England. His wife Anna was a granddaughter of Capt. Robert Keayne and a niece of Gov. Joseph Dudley. Her first husband was Edward Lane.⁵⁶

The following are the credits for his men in this campaign :

August 23 ^d 1675			
John Ballard.	02 00 00	John Picard.	02 00 00
John Breid.	02 00 00	Daniel Wycorn.	02 00 00
Samuel Moore.	02 02 00	William Reeves.	02 00 00
Sept. 3 ^d		Nicholas Maning.	02 08 00
Samuel Giddings.	02 00 00	John Whipple, <i>Lieut.</i> ⁵⁸	05 00 00
Joseph Proctor.	02 00 00	Francis Young.	02 00 00
Nathaniel Engersell.	02 00 00	Ephraim Fellows.	02 00 00
William Osborn.	02 00 00	James Hoult.	02 00 00
Lawrence Hart.	02 00 00	Joseph Safford.	02 00 00
Joseph Needham.	02 00 00	Thomas Newman.	02 00 00
Nicholas Paige, <i>Capt.</i>	08 00 00	Uzall Wardall.	02 00 00
Francis Coard	02 00 00	Daniel Wilkins.	02 00 00
Enoch Lawrence.	02 00 00	Samuel Sillesbie.	02 00 00
Benjamin Wilkins.	02 00 00	William Due.	02 00 00
Thomas Noyce, <i>Cornet</i> ⁵⁷	04 00 00	William Curtis.	02 00 00
James Ford.	02 00 00	Daniel Welcom.	02 00 00
Ezekiel Mighill.	02 00 00	Thomas Albey.	02 00 00
Thomas Tharly.	02 00 00	Mark Hascall.	02 00 00

⁵⁶ Notice curious reference to Edward Paige, son of Nicholas and Anna, in N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, vol. 23, p. 267.

⁵⁷ Thomas Noyce, of Newbury, was chosen, 1683, Capt. of the second Newbury company.

⁵⁸ John Whipple, appointed Cornet of Ipswich Troop in 1663, and then said to be "son of Elder Whiple." He was captain of a special Troop, Feb. 1675-6, of which see hereafter.

No. IV.

MAJOR THOMAS SAVAGE AND THE FORCES UNDER HIM.

A SUFFICIENTLY full and concise account of the family of Thomas Savage may be found by consulting Savage's Genealogical Dictionary. He was born in Taunton, Somerset Co., England, son of William Savage. Came in the "Planter" to Boston, April, 1635, aged 27. Admitted freeman in May following, was an original member of the Artillery Company, and was chosen its captain in 1651, and several times afterwards. He married Faith, daughter of William and Ann Hutchinson, in 1637, and for sharing the views of Ann and her brother-in-law, Rev. John Wheelwright, he was disarmed by the Court, and joined with Coddington and others in the purchase of Rhode Island, whither he removed in 1638, but returned the same year. By his wife Faith he had seven children between 1638 and 1652. Faith died February 20, 1652, and the following September he married Mary Symmes, daughter of Rev. Zechariah, of Charlestown, by whom he had eleven more children. He was almost constantly in public office, and was especially prominent in all the military affairs of the town from 1651 onward. He was captain of 2d Boston militia company from 1652 to his death in 1682.

It is the purpose of this article to give as fully as possible the operations under Major Savage, and facts connected with this Mt. Hope campaign, and the names of men serving with him not previously mentioned, so that our account of the campaign may be considered complete. Some details of the opening preparations are here given, as being rather connected with the movements of the general force than separate companies.

It will be remembered that the first actual attack of Philip was upon those people of Swansey who lived nearest to him. An account of this attack was sent to the Massachusetts Council by Gov. Josiah Winslow of Marshfield. His letter is in Mass. Archives, vol. 67, page 202, dated June 21st, and says the attack was made on the day before, and asks the Massachusetts Colony for aid only in protecting them from the alliance of Philip with the Narraganset and Nipmuck Indians, which tribes are within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; says that if Plymouth can have "fair play" with their own Indians he trusts they can take care of themselves. On the same paper is a copy of the answer of the Council, assuring him of immediate assistance, and that they will send messengers

with all speed to both Narraganset and Nipmuck. This answer is dated June 21, "at 5 o'clock."

On the same day an order was passed in the Council to Capt. Edward Hutchinson, Seth Perry and William Towers, giving commission and instruction for taking a warning message to the Narragansets, and to leave a letter for Roger Williams at Providence. This message is in Mass. Archives, vol. 67, page 201, in a paper directed to "Moosucke [Mootucke], Ninigret & Squa Sachem, of the Narraganset & Nyantic Indians." A paper containing the agreements of the Nipmuck chiefs is in vol. 80, page 169, of the Mass. Archives. Upon June 24th came news of the general outbreak, and further appeal from Plymouth. The Council hastily despatched two messengers to Philip, who, arriving at Swansey, discovered the two men who were slain that day lying in the road, and thus warned of the futility of their peaceful mission, returned to Boston without speaking with Philip. I find by a letter⁵⁹ from the Council to Gov. Winthrop of Connecticut, that these two messengers were Capt. Savage and Mr. Brattle.

Extract of the Massachusetts Council's letter of June 28, 1675, to the governor of Connecticut :

..... "and dayly wee heare of the Increase of trouble the Gov^r of y^t Colony [Plymouth] hath frequently solicited us for Ayde w^{ch} as soone as wee could possibly Raise wee have sent to y^{em}. It's certified from Plymouth and Swansey that both the Narragansets and Monhegins have sent ayd to Phillip. We sent messengers to the Narragansets & Nipmucks to warn & caution them not to Assist Phillip or if any were Gon to command their returne, our messengers are returned from both those places, the Nipmucks speake faire and say that they are faithful to the English and will not Assist Phillip, the Narragansets say they will not medle but there is more reason to suspect the latter and wee believe Uncas is not unconcerned in this matter, all our intelligence gives us ground to believe that the poore people in those parts are in a very distressed condition in many respects, their houses burned, their people kild & wounded they not able to make any Attempt upon the Indians wanting both victuall ammuniton and arms w^{ch} hath occasioned us to send greatt forces for their reliefe, we have sent above three hundred foot and about eighty horse besides several carts laden with munition and with goods and provisions and armes, moreover we are sending two vessels with provision and munition to suply y^e forces, y^e vessells to serve as there shall be cause, We sent Capt. Savage and Mr Brattle 4 days

⁵⁹ This letter is of great importance in several respects in the light it throws upon those few busy days. It is in the Mass. Archives, vol. 67, page 209, and is the original draft, containing many erasures and corrections. It is judged to be in the handwriting of Thomas Danforth, who was then First Commissioner of the United Colonies. It is endorsed by Edw. Rawson, as follows: "Rough draft of Council's letter to Connecticut Gov^r, Ent. June 28, 1675." The figure 8 in the date is somewhat obscure, but the reference in the letter to the Fast appointed for "tomorrow" (which fast we know to have been on the 29th) proves the date of writing to have been on the 28th.

It is hoped to print this letter in full hereafter, but in this present article there is not room. The first half of the contents refers to a detailed account of the troubles at Plymouth Colony, and relates their situation and appeal for aid, and then goes on with what the Massachusetts Colony has done to help them. This copy here given is mostly from a partially revised copy of the draft in the hand of Mr. Rawson, on page 210.

since to speake with Philip who are returned but could not obtaine speech with him, The Council have appointed a fast tomorrow to seek God in this matter and a blessing upon our forces, How far his tribes may spread is with the Lord our God to order, There is reason to concieve y^t if Phillip be not soone [suppressed?] he and his confederates may skulke into the woods and greatly anoy the English & y^t the confederacy of the Indians is larger than yet wee see. Maj. Gen^l Denison was chosen for to goe General of these forces, but he being taken ill Capt. Savage is sent Commander-in-chief, Capt. Prentis commanding y^e horse, Capt. Henchman and Capt. Mosley, Capts of y^e foot, Our eyes are unto y^e Lord for his presence wth y^{em}, & hope you will not be wanting in y^r praes and watchfulness over the Indians, and particularly we request you to use y^r utmost authority to restrain the Monhegins & Pequods.

E. R. Sec'y."

By inquiry I found that this letter, dated June 28th, is preserved in the Connecticut Archives, and also two others which are not in our own. By the kind offices of Mr. Charles J. Hoadly, State Librarian of Connecticut, and member of our society, I have been furnished complete copies of both. One is of July 5th and the other July 10th. I wish here to record my acknowledgments not only for the favor itself, but the careful copying by his own hand. The favor will be appreciated by all on reading the extracts of these letters given below, from Conn. Arch., War Docs., Vol. I. Doc. 5 :

" Boston July 5th 1675

" Hon^d Gentⁿ By our former dat. the 3^d of this instant wee gave you a briefe account of the late outbreking of the Indians in the Plimouth Colony at Swanzie and p^{ts} adjac^t and since y^t wee received the enclosed declaring the deplorable condition of those at Taunton in the same Colony wee have at their request accomodated them with ammunition and men, ie. ab^t 80 troopers furnished with carbines & small musketts ab^t 100 dragoones & ab^t 100 foote soldjers so that with their attendance for waggons &c. y^e whole may be neere 400 men also two vessells well fitted with men provisions & ammunition we have sent ab^t the Cape to accomodate all their necessities so farr as wee could judge necessary," &c.

The remainder of the letter discusses the affairs of the United Colonies relating to the arming and management of the Indians not yet engaged with Philip, and is signed by Edward Rawson, Sec'y, on behalf of the Court, and is superscribed,

" These to the Right Worship^{full} John Winthrop Esq^r Gov^en^r of his Maj^{ty}s Colony at Connecticot p^{re}sent, To be communicated to the Council there."

Extracts of the letter of July 10th 1675. Conn. Arch., War Docs., Vol. I. Doc. 7 :

..... " Capt Hutchinson wth ab^t 100. of our forces went from o^r headquarters upon Tuesday last to y^e Narrogansets to demand an acc^t of their actings wee expect hourelly intelligence w^t they have done there which will be a great guide to us in our further motions "
 " Yesterday came six men sent from Uncas to assure his friendship & offer

his service ag^t Phillip or other enemyes of y^e English with a l're from Mr Fitch to whome wee have returned o^r answer declaring to Uncas y^t if he will send hostages to y^e English for the assurance of his faithfulness wee shall accept his offer" &c. &c. "Signed EDWARD RAWSON, Sec'y

By order of the Council."

In Mass. Archives, vol. 67, page 207, is the Court's instruction to Thomas Savage as major of the Massachusetts forces in this expedition under Major Gen. Denison as commander-in-chief of the colony, closing thus: "And in case the Lord should disenable y^r General so as to take him of the service you shall take charge and command of all according to the commission given unto him," &c.

By reference to Article No. 1, page 3, it will be seen that Major Savage had been commissioned for this expedition on or before June 24th, and the Court had then voted to raise one hundred horse and fifty foot. These constituted the companies of Henchman and Prentice, and together with Capt. Mosely's men, made up the number to two hundred and sixty men, besides officers and teamsters, &c., which force, estimated in round numbers at three hundred, marched out of Boston on June 26th. As to the exact time of Major Savage's marching, or the force with him, the accounts are somewhat vague and conflicting. I give briefly the various references bearing upon this point; and first, it is certain that Capt. Paige's troop numbered, according to the treasurer's credits, thirty-six men including officers. The statement in the above letter claims over three hundred and eighty men to have been sent, up to June 28th. The writer of the "Present State of New England," published in Mr. Drake's Old Indian Chronicle, page 129, says Capt. Thomas Savage, the Major General in that expedition, "with sixty horse and as many foot went out of Boston having prest horses for the footmen and six carts to carry provisions." And on page 131 says, "About the 25th of July the General returned with twelve men to guard his person." The first statement is misleading and of little authority, since the writer has not mentioned Henchman and Prentice's companies at all, and seems to have known only of Mosely's men, to whom he devotes considerable space.

In Mather's "Indian War," strangely enough, no mention is made of Major Savage in relation to this first campaign. And Mr. Hubbard, the most reliable of all, relates in reference to this particular, that Major Savage came up "with other supplies" on the evening of June 29th. On the next day they moved forward into Mount Hope neck, "with a troop of horse in each wing;" encamping that night (June 30th) "in the open field" in a heavy rain. Next day (July 1st) they marched back to Swansey. That night Capt. Prentice's troop rode to Seekonk, and Major Savage appears to have remained at Swansey, July 2d, awaiting their return. On July 3d Henchman and Prentice searched the swamps between Swansey and Rehoboth, and Capt. Mosely "and Capt. Paige with

his dragoons attending on Major Savage," marched back into Mount Hope. Mr. Church's account is extremely vague in reference to this campaign, especially in regard to the Massachusetts forces, making no mention of Maj. Savage by name. Henry Trumbull published a book some seventy years ago, which is notable only for its display of ignorance and the utter absurdity of its persistent misstatement of facts; but the author seems to have stumbled upon a statement near the truth when he says that Major Savage "arrived with an additional company of cavalry." After a diligent search among published accounts and unpublished sources of information, I am unable to find any further reference giving light upon this point, except that the Journal has no credits under Major Savage for this campaign, save the following, viz.:

Sept 3 ^d 1675		
Thomas Savage for service as Major and other charges,		22 00 00
Sept. 28th.		
John Paine.		02 00 00
John Williams.		01 04 00
Theophilus Frary, Commissary.		03 04 00
.... Toton, Chirurgion. ⁶⁰		16 00 00
Jacob Elliott, Commissary.		00 15 00
Feby 29 th 1675-6		
Peter Gennings.		01 10 00

Mr. Joseph Dudley also went out with Major Savage, and received on Sept. 14th credit of 08 11 04, for salary as chaplain.

In regard to the two vessels, I find in Mass. Archives, vol. 67, page 207, the following papers:

"Committee employed for this present Expedition against the Indians, ordered to send the following provisions aboard the Sloop Swanne, whereof Samuel Woodbery is master to be sent for the supply of our forces, Viz^t 2000 weight⁶¹ of Bisket, 40 barrells of pease in casks, 10 Barrells of Pork,

⁶⁰ William Locke was the regular surgeon who went out with the army on June 26th, as will be seen by reference to Mass. Archives, vol. 69, pages 58 and 60, and referred to in article No. II. of this series. This "Toton" was Dr. John Touton, a Huguenot, who at this time lived at Rehoboth, and his service may be inferred in part by the following order in Mass. Archives, vol. 67, page 221:

Order to Mr John Toton to take "Peter Sympkins, Robert Smith and Isaac Ratt, to attend" him and "go for the reliefe of the wounded" . . . "and in case of their refusal you are required by the Constables to send them forthwith to Capt Hudson who is required to send them to Boston." Dated July 22, 1675.

⁶¹ It will be seen by this supply, that Massachusetts then, as always since, showed a generous appreciation of the appetites of her soldiers. To the uninitiated the above bill of fare may not seem particularly inviting; but to any one who has been a soldier and knows the meaning of "pea-porridge-hot," the item "40 barrels of pease" will carry its own convictions. Bisket, stripped fish and raisins, as marching rations, compare favorably, according to my experience, with the "hard-tack" and "salt-horse" furnished us by the U. S. Commissaries in 1861-5. I cannot testify to the "Rumme," as I belonged to a Maine regiment; but many times I have sat down by the camp-fire to a dipper of "pea-porridge-hot" and a sop of bread, as to a royal feast.

In the line of the above information is this curious old paper in vol. 68, page 135. A "Committee's estimate of what Provisions &c will serve 500 souldiers one month." "Biskett 15^m, Porke 20 barrills, Beeffe 30 barrills (or some think only Pork and send salt), Bacon 10^{cwt}. Cheese 10^c: Stockins & Shooes 200 p^r each, Shirts & Draws 100 of each, Wastecoats 50, Walletts 100, 300 small baggs for each man to carry nokake, 300 bush oats, 100 bush barley, 50 bush Indian corne parched and beaten to nokake, 6 bar. powder, 12^{cwt} shott, Flint 20^{ct}."

10 Kintalls of drye fish, 1 hogshead of Rumme, six jarrs of oyle, 4 barrells Raisins, 1 Barrell of sugar, 1 hogshead of salt, $\frac{1}{4}$ cask of wine. Moreover you are to load aboard the Brigandine called the — [Joseph] whereof Edward Winslow is Master the like quantity of provisions as above expressed abating only two barrells of Raisings & with two barrels of powder one in each vessell You are also to take bills of lading of these goods and to bee delivered to the Commissaries of the Army Theophilus Frary and John Moss or either of them.

Dated in Boston 28 June 1675

By the Council E. R. Sec'y."

And on page 211, same date :

"Instructions to Edward Winslow, Master of the Joseph."

"You are hereby ordered forthwith as wind and weather will permit with your vessell to sail to Swansey or as near thereunto as you may and there deliver to Left Theophilus Frary and John Morse, Commissaries for this Colony and the forces (now) under the conduct of Major Thomas Savage all such provisions Armes &c now on board you for the use of the army.

Signed JOHN LEVERET, Gov'r."

It appears from the letter above of July 5th, that these two vessels had sailed before that date. From Hull's Journal, pages 10 and 11, which I have restored from the Ledger, the following credits are obtained :

August 20, 1675

Maritime Disbursements Dr To Viz.

Samuel Woodbury. ⁶²	03 00 01	John Kennedye	Als. Can-
Robert Breck.	01 05 00	nede.	02 09 00
Joshua Matson.	01 10 00	John Ball.	02 09 00
Nath ^l Phillips.	01 10 00	William Christian.	02 09 00
Henry Rock als. Cock	01 10 00	Nathaniel. Huett.	02 09 00
William Cantrell.	01 10 00	Redeemed. Scott.	02 09 00
Nathaniel Gallop.	02 00 00	Simon Daniel.	02 09 00
Thomas Alson.	01 10 00	Thomas Norton.	02 09 00
William Hascall.	01 10 00	John Mane.	02 02 00
Samuel Cross.	02 16 00	Edward Perkins.	03 19 00
		William Aldridg.	03 10 00

The first nine in the above list I presume to have been the master and crew of the "Sloop Swanne;" the rest were probably on the "Brigandine" Joseph. Edward Winslow was master we know, and Samuel Winslow was of the crew of this vessel, as I find by this order of the Council, July 24th (Archives, vol. 67, page 226): "Ordered that Edward & Samuel Winslow, now on board the Brigandine be released to come home." By the let-

⁶² In Vol. II. Colonial History of New York, Holland Documents, I find by report of a council held at Fort William Hendrick, May 26, 1674, that "Capt. Cornelis Ewoutse arrived here this day with his Snow the Zehont, reports having captured three small New England prizes." One of these was the Sloop Swan, of which Samuel Woodbury was master, who appeared and declared that he lived at Swansey and was part owner of the Sloop, and that John Dixy's widow of Swansey owned the other part, and that he was captured "near Prudence Island." The vessel and cargo were confiscated by the New York Colony, but on June 29 following were released.

ter of Capt. Henschman, published in Article No. I., it appears that he left this vessel at Pocasset on July 31st, when he went in pursuit of Philip, leaving five files of his men at Fort Leverett. And I infer that the vessel had left that place before August 9, when he was ordered by Gen. Denison to return and draw off the men, since he was to leave there such provisions and ammunition as "for want of carriage" he could not bring with him.

In regard to other matters referred to in the above letters, it will be seen that the statement, in the letter of July 5th, of forces sent, is simply a restatement of that in the former letter, and not, as might appear at first, additional forces sent to Taunton. No such additional forces and no other vessels were sent at that time.

Capt. Edward Hutchinson was despatched to the forces at Mount Hope on July 3d, and paid £5.00.00 on that day by the Court's order. There went with him, as appears by the Journal credits, the following men :

Edward Hutchinson jun ^r	00 12 00	John Minott.	00 10 00
John Bennet.	00 19 00	Nathaniel Holmes.	00 10 00
Sam ^l Williams.	00 10 00	John Ruggles.	00 12 00
Hugh Clark.	00 10 00	Dec ^r 20. 1675	
John Pason.	00 10 00	James Barrett	00 12 00

The explanation of the passage in the letter of July 10th, relating that Capt. Hutchinson with about one hundred men went from our headquarters to the Narragansets, &c., is probably this : In their orders to Major Savage by Hutchinson, the Court doubtless left the details of the embassy to the discretion of the officers at Mount Hope, and they determined to march in full force. Hubbard relates that Capt. Mosely crossed over by water to attend Capt. Hutchinson in his despatch, the others going around. It is likely that Capt. Hutchinson sent back some of his own men with the message of his departure, and from this the Court made their report to Connecticut Colony.

The negotiations with the Mohegans, of whom Uncas was chief sachem, are of peculiar interest, but must be deferred to a separate chapter, with only brief allusion here. On the return of the six Indians referred to in the letter, Ephraim Curtis was sent to conduct them, taking along three Natick Indians, who volunteered to accompany him. They went by way of Marlborough, where, at the Indian fort, they were warned of the danger of the journey by the friendly Indians gathered there, and Curtis heard of the plundering of his own house at "Quansigamug" (Worcester) and was shown some of the plunder which the marauders, the Nipmucks, had brought thither, and thereupon the Naticks declined to go on unless more men were added to their force. Upon his application to the constables of Marlborough, two men with horses and arms were pressed for this service. These were John and James Barnard,

who receive credit in the Journal under date of Sept. 14th, 1675. With this force he conducted the Mohegans safely home, and on his return sought out the Nipmuck sachems and had a romantic interview with them. A full account of this journey may be found in his long and interesting letter, of July 16th, to the Court, preserved in Mass. Archives, vol. 67, page 215. The result of the negotiations with Uncas was that he sent two of his sons to Boston as hostages, and his eldest son and successor, Oneko, with fifty men, to assist the English against Philip. These were sent to Plymouth Colony under the conduct of "Quartermaster Swift and a ply of horse," as Major Gookin relates. Their subsequent proceedings, joining with the Rehoboth men in the pursuit and battle with Philip, their brief service with Capt. Henchman and return home, have been related in a former article. The Mohegans got as wages the plunder they seized from Philip. Swift⁶³ and his "ply of horse" were credited as follows, Sept. 16th, 1675:

Thomas Swift, <i>Corporall</i> .	00 13 06	Joseph Crosby.	00 07 06
Martin Sanders.	00 07 06	Thomas Smith.	00 07 06
Samuel Hayden.	00 07 06	Thomas Blighe.	00 07 06
Ebenezer Hayden.	00 07 06	Samuel Blighe.	00 07 06
Benjamin Badcocke.	00 07 06	Sept 28 th 1675	
Samuel Whiting.	00 07 06	William Harris.	00 07 06
Nathaniel Bullard.	00 07 06	Asaph Elliott.	00 07 06
William Hawkins.	00 07 06	James Barrett.	00 07 06
Thomas Toleman.	00 07 06	March 25th 1675-6	
Joseph Penneman.	00 07 06	Moses Pain.	00 07 06

The other company of Indians that went out in this campaign was enlisted by Maj. Gookin from the various friendly tribes about Boston, agreeably to an order of the Court of July 2d, and to the number of fifty-two marched out of Boston on July 6th, under the conduct of Capt. Isaac Johnson, who delivered them to Major Savage at Mt. Hope, and then "returned back." Seventeen⁶⁴ of these were with Capt. Henchman when he crossed from Pocasset to Providence, July 31st, in pursuit of Philip. Others were credited, as we have seen, under Capt. Prentice, the rest returned to their homes "after 25 days," according to Major Gookin. The popular prejudice against these Praying Indians seems to have extended to our early historians, who, except Gookin, seldom mention them or their service; and since they were not generally credited on the treasurer's book, it is extremely difficult to give a correct account of them. According to the testimony of Major Savage, Capts. Henchman and Prentice, "most of them acquitted themselves courageously and faithfully," and we know that the Mohegans, in company with

⁶³ Thomas Swift, of Milton, who married, in 1657, Eliza Vose, daughter of Robert, of whom more hereafter. "Ply of horse," i. e. a small body of horse.

⁶⁴ Gookin's account says that about half were "sent home and disban led after 25 days." Also says above 20 were with Henchman in the pursuit.

the Rehoboth men, did the most effective fighting of the whole campaign.

We have noted the various elements that made up this expedition under Major Savage, and now, counting the regular forces that went out at first under Henchman, Prentice and Mosely as 250 men, and under Paige 35, we have but 285 men, 95 less than the number stated in the letter of June 28th. This seems a large number to allow as guards and attendants, but I think that some twenty-five or thirty men besides Paige's troop went out with Major Savage and joined the companies already there. It will be remembered that 121 men were credited under Capt. Henchman, nearly all of whom, after a diligent comparison of their credits and subsequent service, I conclude must have joined him as early as July 1st. And this reckoning still leaves a large margin for attendants and guards. The round number of "about 400" in the letter of July 5th may have included the men of Capt. Johnson, who conducted the 52 "Gookin" Indians, but not, I think, the Indians themselves. It is barely possible that the crews of the two vessels were counted, making about twenty men additional. The reference to "dragoons" is explained by the fact that Capt. Henchman's company was furnished with horses. See his commission in Article I., "to take charge of the said Company of foote mounted as dragoons," &c.

The "Guards and Carriage" account does not show an amount of expense corresponding to the large number apparently employed for that service, the total amount for the several campaigns up to January 25, 1675-6, being but £16.10.00. Some of the guards in this first expedition were charged directly to Plymouth Colony, those evidently who guarded the carts sent with ammunition, &c., to supply their wants. The following were thus charged at £00. 03s. 00d. apiece for guarding their ammunition: Richard Smith, Thomas Lawrence, James Hoxly, James Montt, Ebenezer Hill.

And these are all that I can find credited as guards for this expedition, so that I must leave the discrepancy between the numbers that plainly appear from the Journal credits and other various sources, and the statement of the letter of June 28th, to be filled in by the number of officers, doctors, quartermasters and their attendants, and also allow for some who returned home sick or disabled, or else deserted and received no credit on the books, though reckoned in the statement of the Court. This campaign closed, as concerned Major Savage, when he returned to Boston about July 20th.

Major Savage appears not to have been actively engaged in the war after this campaign until the following February, but in the mean time as an enterprising merchant, a town commissioner, captain of an important company of Boston militia, with charge of its training and the impressment of quotas for active service, the latter a difficult and trying matter, we can see that he was not idle. The

situation of affairs in the colonies at the beginning of February, 1675-6, was somewhat as follows: The summer and autumn campaigns in the west had not made any material gain for the English except in experience; the Narragansett campaign had resulted in driving that tribe and the Mount Hope Indians to the north and west; their women, children and old people, that survived the Fort fight, were scattered about amongst the various tribes nearest them; Philip and his fighting men were thus left free to range up and down, overawing the smaller tribes, inciting the stronger to hostility against the colonies; his agents and friends were active in all the tribes; himself with a body of his men had retired as far as the woods above Albany, where they were supplied with abundance of arms and ammunition by the Dutch; as a wanderer and outlaw he had nothing further to lose and everything to gain by the war; the young men of the tribes looked upon him as a great leader, and were eager to follow him; large bodies of Indians were drawn together in various places; most of the Nipmucks, with some Narragansetts, were encamped at Wenimesset (now New Braintree); many others from different tribes had gathered about Mount Wachuset; another large encampment was at Squakeag (Northfield) and beyond, whither many of the tribes about Springfield and Hadley had withdrawn. And all these made common cause with Philip, and were in an attitude of warfare. Thus Philip, at bay, and with nearly the whole force of the New England tribes in active sympathy with him, was far more dangerous than at Mount Hope. The English, on the other hand, were weary of the war which they had carried on for seven months, at immense expense of means and men, without apparent gain. The people in the frontier towns were mostly withdrawn into garrisons, their homes broken up, farms laid waste, and they living in constant dread of the lurking enemy. Military skill and bravery could avail but little against the tactics of a skulking foe, who came when and where least expected, nearly always striking those least prepared, applying the torch, shooting from the safe covert of the woods, and, before effective resistance could be offered, vanishing again to the forests. The Indians were intimately acquainted with the habits and plans of the colonists and knew just when to strike and where, while the English knew nothing of their movements except from the friendly Indians,⁶⁵ whom they mostly distrusted.

Such was the posture of affairs in February, 1675-6, when Philip was preparing to strike an effectual blow against the colonies. On

⁶⁵ The English had many of these friendly Indians acting as spies and scouts, who circulated quite freely among Philip's allies, and brought intelligence of their plans; but their reports were often received with distrust, and the Council was slow to act upon them, and in many cases their neglect was followed by disaster. One of these spies, James Quannapolit, alias Rumucymarsh, after visiting the Nipmucks at Wenimesset, near Brookfield, brought word to Boston on January 24th, of the intended attack upon Lancaster and other towns, but too little heed was paid to his warning, and so these places were one by one attacked, and several destroyed.

February 6th, the army returning from the Narragansett country to Boston was disbanded. On the 8th the Commissioners of the United Colonies voted to raise another army of six hundred men for a campaign in the west. No quota was required from Plymouth. On the 10th Lancaster was attacked by the Nipmucks.⁶⁶ On the 15th Mosely and his company were ordered to Sudbury, and about that time Capt. Oakes with his troop was scouting from Lancaster to Medfield, and was at the latter place when it was assaulted on the 21st. On that day the Council voted to raise one hundred foot and seventy-two troopers to fill the Massachusetts quota of the proposed army. Major Savage was captain of this foot company, but when he was commissioned as commander of the Massachusetts troops on the 25th, his lieutenant, Benjamin Gillam, succeeded to that company's command. Capt. John Whipple was appointed to command the troopers, and Capt. William Turner marched out with another company of foot.

John Curtice and six friendly Indians from the Island were to serve as guides. The Massachusetts troops were ordered to march immediately to Brookfield, to join the Connecticut men under Maj. Treat, and Major General Denison was appointed commander-in-chief of the combined forces, and ordered to Marlborough to direct the movements of the army.

Our forces joined those of Connecticut under Major Treat on the 2d or 3d of March⁶⁷ at Brookfield, and advanced to attack the Indians at Wenimesset, but the enemy, having intelligence of the design, fled before our troops arrived. Our dragoons, it is said, followed a part of these as far as Paquayag (Athol), where they crossed the river and escaped towards Northfield.⁶⁸ By this pursuit, and against the earnest advice of the Natick scouts, our army was diverted from the intention of attacking the Indians gathered near Mount Wachuset, and instead marched into Hadley on March 8th. Their coming, however, seems to have been opportune, as the evident design of the large force of Indians gathered near was upon the towns on the river. On the 9th they attacked Westfield with a small force, and on the 14th assaulted Northampton in full force, but were repulsed, Major Treat and the Connecticut forces having entered the town the evening before, and Capt. Turner's company being already stationed there. The further details of this expedition must be deferred to the future accounts of garrisons and the several captains and their companies. The best account of this campaign now published is, I think, Mr. Judd's History of Hadley. Besides the many letters written at the time by the chief men at the

⁶⁶ It is not certain whether Philip was at this attack or not. The weight of authority is against the supposition. The matter will be discussed hereafter.

⁶⁷ Notice the mistake made in the date of Capt. Mosely's march, Article II., on page 35.

⁶⁸ Mrs. Rowlandson was with them a captive, in this retreat, and gives an account of the affair. They arrived at Northfield on March the 7th, went up the river and crossed to the west bank, where on the 9th they joined Philip and a large body of Indians encamped there.

west and the officers of the army, there are many interesting papers⁶⁹ in the archives of Massachusetts and Connecticut throwing light upon the subject.

The following letter of the Council to Major Savage shows something of the closing movements of this campaign, and is copied in full from the original in Mass. Archives, vol. 68, page 191. It is dated 1st April, '76.

Maj^r Savage,

Wee received your letters by the post dated 28th of march and perceive both by yo^{rs} and Mr Nowel's letters that Coneticut forces are drawne of & that by reason of the numerosnes of the enimy (according to yo^r information) you are not in a capacity to pursue y^m, also you intimate y^e feares of the people of those townes y^t in case you bee drawne of wth y^{or} forces y^t they wilbe in danger to be destroyed by the enimy also wee understand that the townes are unwilling to attend our advise to draw into a narrow compass whereby wee couced they would have been able to defend themselves better, but Northampton desires more soldiers to be added to y^{er} former number, they offer to mayntayne all soldiers both for wages and victuall the result of the Council touching this matter is y^t wee are willing for present that you leave soldiers to assist those townes not exceeding 150 men choosing such as are fittest for that service and as neare as you can All single men Leaving Capt. Turner in Capt Poole place; *with the Rest of the Army we expsly comand you to draw homeward & endeavr in yr returne to visit ye enimy about Backquake & bee careful not to bee Deseved by yer lapping stratagem: by drawing you of from yr nest to follow some men*; Butt if Maj^r Treat and the Conetecut forces should returne & y^t it be advisable to march after y^e enimy to Dearfeld &c. wee leave you to y^{or} liberty to act

as you shall judge Best; but if y^e Conetect men returne not or after a returne draw of again,* then o^r exp^{esse} order is to bee upon y^{or} march homewards & in y^{or} returne to endeavor to visit the enimy as in o^r past was exp^{ressed}; If you should not meet with the enimy then we order you to retreat to Marlborow and wait their for further orders** Wee have latle sent Capt. Gravs of Charlestown with about 50 men and 30 horses laden with provisions & Ammunition to Quabauge ordering him to take y^e charge of y^t Garrison for p^sent and to returne y^e horses & men wth S^t Ingram, so y^t wee wilbe sufficiently recruited wth ammunition at y^e fort at Quabauge, touching that Rebuke of God upon Cap^t Whiple and y^e poore people at Springfield it is matter of great shame and humbling to us. The intelligence by the wounded woman of what y^e enimy said to her; wee have reason to apprehend much of it is false & y^t they have not such numbers at Dearefield neither are the Narragansetts or Nipmucks there; o^r Reasons are because at this p^sent time & before y^{or} letter were dated a great Boddy of Indians and wee conceive they are Narragansetts have done great mis-

*and you are thereby Incapacitated to further accⁿ by reason of y^e numerosnes or flight of y^e enimy.

**from them sent in another letter to him as news by order & both signed 1st April 76.

E. R. Sec^y,
by ord^r

returne y^e horses & men wth S^t Ingram, so y^t wee wilbe sufficiently recruited wth ammunition at y^e fort at Quabauge, touching that Rebuke of God upon Cap^t Whiple and y^e poore people at Springfield it is matter of great shame and humbling to us. The intelligence by the wounded woman of what y^e enimy said to her; wee have reason to apprehend much of it is false & y^t they have not such numbers at Dearefield neither are the Narragansetts or Nipmucks there; o^r Reasons are because at this p^sent time & before y^{or} letter were dated a great Boddy of Indians and wee conceive they are Narragansetts have done great mis-

⁶⁹ In a letter of March 28th Major Savage gives the Council some account of his movements, of the attack upon the people at Longmeadow, of the withdrawal of the Connecticut forces, of the gathering of large numbers of Indians about Deerfield and Northfield, and the danger threatening those towns. This letter is in the Mass. Archives, vol. 68, page 189.

cheif at Secuncke and Providence neare Secuncke upon last Lorday Capt Peirce with about 100 English & indians Ingaged with a great body of them about 5 miles from Secuncke neare Mr Blackston the consequent of w^{ch} fight was y^t Peirce was slaine and 51 English more with him & 11 Indians y^t Assisted him their escaped of y^e whole company not above 7 or 8 English & y^e rest the enmy tooke all y^r arms and two horse loads with provisions; there was a great body of indians as y^e escaped report & environed y^m Round Capt. Peirce with a smaler p^{ty} had a skirmish with about 50 of them y^e day before and did y^m mischeife & came of without loss wth [sic] On the same Lord day another party of indians assalted Marlborow in y^e time of afternone excise they burnt 13 deserted houses & 11 barns at y^t time & 3 men were wounded. The towne of Lancaster is wholly deserted Groton can abide no longer yⁿ untill carts bee sent to bring y^m w^{ch} will bee next weeke, Chelmsford wee feare will bee soone nessecated to do y^e like & what Meadfeld and other fronters towns may shortly bee put upon y^e Lord know, these things considered you may see the Nessecity of having o^r Army nearer to us this day wee had intelligence of y^e enimies assaulting and burning Providence and Rehobath: They earnestly sent for succor but we have y^m not we have now about 700 men out in those westward parts at Marlboroh and o^r other fronters and wee are at a plunge where to raise more & kepe the heart in any competent safty. Thus committing you to God desiring his presence with & protection over you wee Remaine

Wee have sent out a single Indian from ye Island to carry A letter to y^e enmy aboute redemption of Captives, hee [is] ordered to carry a flag of truce if hee come into your Army let him bee returned in safty.

The following are the credits given under Major Savage, whose company in this campaign, from February, 1675-6, to May, was under the immediate command of Lieut. Gillam:

April 24 th 1676 ⁷⁰		David Rainsford.	02 06 00
Phillip Bullis.	00 18 00	Joseph Andrews.	02 02 00
William Pasmore.	00 18 00	Richard Scott.	03 07 00
James Hughes.	00 18 00	Henry Phillips.	02 02 00
June 24 th 1676.		Richard Woody.	02 09 08
Joseph Pollard.	02 01 00	Benjamin Gillam, <i>Lieut.</i>	05 15 06
Jonathan Fairbanks.	03 07 00	Samuel Rust.	02 02 00
Maurice Truelove.	01 16 00	John Hand.	01 16 10
Richard Keates.	02 02 00	Samuel Meares.	02 09 00
Phillip Bullis.	01 09 00	John Hull.	09 06 00
Zibeon Letherland.	02 02 00	James Hughes.	02 02 00
Joseph Shaw.	02 02 00	Nathaniel Richards.	03 07 00
Joseph Gannett.	02 02 00	Henry Cooke.	01 18 06
Thomas Clark.	01 12 06	John Goff.	02 02 00
Samuel Douse.	02 02 00	Thomas Read.	01 13 04
Zekery Fowle.	02 10 00	Moses Pain.	02 11 04
James Boone.	02 02 00	Benjamin Burges.	02 12 02
John Mulbery.	03 07 00	John Chapman.	02 02 00
Gilbert Cole.	02 04 00	Samuel Bill.	02 02 00

⁷⁰ These three were paid off perhaps to relieve their families. Bullis and Pasmore were paid by Jeremiah Ellsworth, constable of Rowley, and in the Archives, 68, page 153, is a pitiful petition from "Judah Bulies" for the release of her husband or relief for herself and her children.

Edmund Gage.	02 02 00	John Sage.	01 13 04
Ezekiel Levitt.	02 01 00	Thomas Chapman.	01 19 04
Manasses Beck.	02 09 00	July 24 th 1676	
John Figg.	02 01 00	Samuel Rigbey.	03 14 00
Benjamin Thurston.	03 03 00	Richard Woods.	02 01 00
Joseph Newell.	01 18 06	Joseph Pecke.	02 13 00
Richard Rogers.	06 17 00	Benjamin Badcock.	03 07 00
Simon Rogers.	02 00 02	John Alger.	01 03 04
Thomas Simkins.	01 10 00	William Gerrish.	06 11 00
Theophilus Thornton.	02 02 00	George Abbott.	02 02 00
Thomas Savage jr.	04 02 04	Christopher Cole.	01 16 00
Joseph Bodman.	01 12 06	Charles Blinco.	01 16 00
Thomas Williams.	02 02 00	John Mansell.	01 17 08
Thomas Bridges.	02 02 00	Thomas Wright.	02 02 00
Thomas Savage, <i>Major</i> .	28 00 00	John Sargent.	01 17 08
John Williams.	02 02 00	August 24 th 1676	
James Chevers.	02 02 00	John Wells, jr. (Weld)	01 16 00
Daniel Landon.	02 02 00	Jonathan Barker.	02 02 00
Richard Beffer.	01 16 00	James Brayley.	03 03 00
Joshuah Hughes.	03 03 00	William Stratton.	02 02 00
Francis Shepheard.	02 08 00	Thomas Howard.	03 10 00
Thomas Dure.	02 02 00	Thomas Emes, als. Eames.	01 08 04
William Pollard.	02 02 00	Joseph Knight.	02 02 00
John Marsh.	02 02 00	Sept. 23 ^d	
Robert Smith.	02 02 00	Henry Willis.	01 16 10
John Wiswall.	04 11 00	John Ruggles.	02 07 00
James Lowden.	03 07 00	Richard Snowden.	01 16 10

In accordance with his instructions Major Savage withdrew his troops about April 7th, leaving one hundred and fifty-one men with Capt. Turner to garrison the towns, and with four companies under Capts. Mosely and Whipple, and Lieutenants Gillam and Edward Drinker, marched homeward. On arriving at Brookfield a council of war was held to consider the later orders from the Council, advising an attack upon the Indians at Mt. Wachuset, but it was decided not advisable. (The officers had learned by experience the futility of pursuing the enemy with an army.) The expedition of Major Savage thus closed.⁷¹ The troops were either returned to Boston or engaged in other service, and there appear no further credits under his name. Accounts of Capts. Whipple and Turner are to be given hereafter, also of other officers mentioned in the letters.

⁷¹ In Mass. Archives, vol. 68, page 203, there is an order of the Council to Gen. Denison to inspect the army returned under Major Savage, and discharging those unfitted for service to dispose of the rest as he shall judge best. The order was dated April 10, 1676.

It seems that Mr. Samuel Nowell, chaplain, was a member of the council-of-war, and voted to march to Wachuset, but the officers Mosely, Whipple, Gillam and Drinker voted against it on the ground of insufficient supplies and sickness among the troops. See Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 235.

NO. V.

CAPT. THOMAS WHEELER AND HIS MEN.

IN gathering from the pages of the Treasurer's Journal the names of soldiers who served at different dates and places during the war, under any one officer, and setting them in one list, it is difficult to preserve at the same time the proper sequence of events without repeating something of the same story, in relating the service of different companies. It is proposed in this article to write out a brief account of the services of Capt. Thomas Wheeler, of Concord, and the men who served under him during the war.

A word concerning Capt. Wheeler may be in order here, especially since I find that the published references to him with which I am acquainted are vague and conflicting. The genealogy of the Wheelers of Concord is a difficult problem, from the fact that as early as 1640-1 no less than seven heads of families of that name were in town, viz., George, Joseph and Obadiah among the first settlers. Ephraim, Thomas and Timothy settled in 1639, and a second Thomas who appears in 1640-1. All published accounts are defective and misleading, but the long and careful research of Mr. George Tolman, of Concord, has done much to clear up the mystery. By a diligent comparison of Mr. Tolman's papers, kindly loaned me, with all I am able to glean from other sources, I derive the following account.

Thomas Wheeler, first mentioned, removed to Fairfield, Connecticut, in 1644; his son Thomas settled on the farm he left in Concord, and married a wife Sarah before 1649. Mr. Savage erroneously identifies this latter with the Captain. But of Capt. Thomas, we know that he was the brother of Timothy, who mentions in his will, probated Sept. 7th, 1687, "Joseph, Ephraim and Deliverance my brother Thomas his sons." He married Ruth, daughter of William Wood, and from the record of deaths in Concord we find some account of their children. Alice died March 17, 1641; Nathaniel died January 9, 1676-7; Thomas died Jan. 17, 1676-7; Ephraim February 9, 1689. Joseph and Deliverance, mentioned in Timothy's will, were probably the sole survivors of the parents.⁷² "Capt. Thomas Wheeler, *husband of Ruth*, died Dec. 10, 1676." Ruth the widow administered upon his estate next year. Their son Jo-

⁷² It is possible that James Wheeler, who married Sarah Randall in 1682 and settled in Stow, was a son of Capt. Thomas and Ruth.

seph, in 1677, administered upon the estates of his brothers Thomas and Nathaniel. The estate of Thomas consisted of "a horse, pistols, cutlash and gun," and was prized at £6 12s. This was the Captain's son who saved his father's life at the fight near Wickabaug Pond. The son Joseph married Mary Powers and settled in Stow, Mass. Deliverance married Mary Davis, and also settled in Stow. Capt. Thomas was admitted freeman in 1642, was sergeant of the foot company of Concord in 1662, was appointed, at its organization in 1669, captain of the horse company, made up of troopers from several adjoining towns. He was in command of this company in July, 1675, when it was called into the service of which some account is to be given presently. Of this the main facts are gathered from the very interesting "narrative"⁷³ which he published in 1675, within a few months after the service was rendered. The title of this pamphlet has been transcribed by the kindness of A. C. Goodell, Jr., Esq., from a copy of the original edition belonging to the Essex Institute, which copy is bound up with the Rev. Peter Bulkeley's Sermon, and was perhaps published with it. It is as follows :

A True Narrative Of the Lord's Providences in various dispensations towards Captain Edward Hutchinson of Boston and my self, and those that went with us into the Nipmuck Country, and also to Quabaug, alias Brookfield. The said Captain Hutchinson having a Commission from the Honoured Council of this Colony to Treat with several Sachems in those parts, in order to the publick peace and my self being also ordered by the said Council to accompany him with part of my Troop for Security from any danger that might be from the Indians: and to Assist him in the Transaction of matters committed to him.

In may be in order here to recall the situation of affairs and some of the circumstances that led up to this expedition to Brookfield.

⁷³ Of this valuable publication contemporary historians availed themselves. Mr. Hubbard evidently used it freely and followed it fully in his account. Major Gookin refers to and quotes from it in his "History of the Praying Indians." But Rev. Nathan Fiske, pastor of the Third Church in Brookfield, who preached a centennial historical sermon in 1775 (which was published in 1776), seems not to have known of it, but follows Gov. Hutchinson's history, who himself evidently had never seen it, at least does not notice it. And Rev. Joseph I. Foot delivered a Historical Discourse on Thanksgiving Day, November 7, 1828 (published first in the same year), which discourse (says the Editor of the enlarged edition of 1843) was compiled by the author "after much inquiry and laborious research," and yet Mr. Foot seems to have been entirely ignorant of the existence of the "narrative," and makes no mention of Capt. Wheeler, leaving the natural inference that he could hardly have read either Hubbard's, Mather's or Gookin's History. The edition of 1843 contains "Wheeler's narrative," in full; and by the Editor's statement and a letter from Lemuel Shattuck, of Concord, it seems that Mr. Foot became aware of the existence of the pamphlet but did not receive it from Mr. Shattuck, who possessed two copies, until July, 1829, some time after his discourse was published, and even then Mr. Shattuck appears not to have known that the N. H. Historical Society had published the "Narrative" in their Collections two years before, with valuable annotations. In the edition of 1843, however, the Editor plainly used the publication of the N. H. Society, word for word—title, introduction, notes and all, without addition or omission, though omitting to make acknowledgment of the same. On July 4th, 1860, in his oration at the Bi-Centennial Anniversary of the Settlement of Brookfield, Rev. Lyman Whiting gives a complete and eloquent account of the fight and subsequent defence of the garrison by Wheeler's troopers. And later Mr. H. E. Waite has made valuable investigations (see REGISTER, ante, vol. xxxv. p. 333), and has kindly furnished assistance, advice and material to the present writer.

The Nipmuck Indians had been for some time uneasy and threatening. Twice during July Ephraim Curtis had been to treat with them, as has been previously noted. On the last occasion their sachems had agreed to send their Sagamore to treat with the English; but failing to keep this promise, the Council thought it expedient to send a larger party, with more show of power, to compel them to some sort of a treaty. The Council, however, did not fully estimate the number or disposition of the Nipmucks, deluded in part by the fair promises of the Sachem David to the settlers at Brookfield, and partly relying upon the knowledge that Philip was securely shut up in the swamp at Pocasset, with Capt. Henchman's company warily guarding at Fort Leverett, and the Plymouth forces near at hand. News having come that Mattoonas (leader of the murderous assault upon Mendon on July 14), with some of the Narragansets, had come among the Indians about Quabaog, the preparations of the Council were somewhat hastened, as will be seen by the following "minutes" (Mass. Arch., vol. 67, p. 224):

"The Council met at y^e time 26 July at Charles Towne & afterwards at Boston 1675." An Order past to send for Capt. Tho. Wheeler & 20 of his troop to be here at Boston wth y^e Gou^r & Council at 10 in y^e morning."

And the following commission to Capt. Edward Hutchinson⁷⁴ (Mass. Arch., vol. 67, p. 228):

Boston 27. July 1675

The Council beeing informed y^t the narraganset indians are come downe with about one hundred Armed men into the Nipmuck country, Do order you Capt Edward Hutcheson. to take with you Capt Thomas Wheler & his party of horse with Ephraim Curtis for a guide & a sufficient⁷⁵ interpreter, & forthwith to repaire into those parts & ther Laubour to get a right understanding of the motions of the Narraganset indians & of y^e indians of Nipmuck: and for that end to demand of the leaders of y^e narraganset Indians an acc^t of y^e grouns of y^er marching in y^t country & require to understand the orders of their Sachems, And also to demand an Account of the Nipmuck Indians why they have not sent downe their Sagamore according to their promise unto o^r messenger Ephraim Curtis,—And further let y^m know y^t wee are informed that there are some among them y^t have actually joyned with our enemies in the murder & spoyle made upon the English by Philip, And that Mattoonas & his Complices who have Robed & Murdered our people about Mendon are now among y^m And y^t wee require them to deliver up to you or forthwith bring in to us those our enemies, otherwise wee must Looke at them to bee no friends to us, but ayders

⁷⁴ Memoirs of the Hutchinson family are published in the REGISTER, vol. i. p. 297, and xx. 355. Capt. Edward, the eldest son of William and Ann, came to this country from England with his uncle Edward Hutchinson, probably in September, 1633, a year before his parents came. His family were much interested in the civilization of the Indians, and were widely known amongst them. Capt. Edward owned a large farm in the Nipmuck country, and had employed several of the sachems in tilling it. He was popular with the Indians, experienced in military matters, trusted by the colony, and had several times been sent to treat with different tribes, and was but lately returned from the treaty with Narragansets, ante, vol. xxxvii. p. 368.

⁷⁵ In the original the words "Peter Ephraim of Natick for an" are written and then struck out, and the words "a sufficient" put in.

and abettors [*sic*] and unto all these things you shall require y^{er} expr^{sse} answer; & as soon as you have dispatched the affayre, you are to returne home & give us an acct, so desiring the Lords pr^{sence} with you & in prosecution of this affayre if you should meet with any Indians that stand in opposition to you or declare y^m selves to bee yo^r enemies then you are ordered to ingage with them if you see reson for it & endeav^r to reduce y^m by force of Arms.

Such was the situation when, as we learn from Capt. Wheeler's narrative above mentioned, he, with about twenty of his troop, reported to the Council as commanded, and with Capt. Hutchinson marched on July 28th from Cambridge to Sudbury, and thence the next three days into the Nipmuck Country. They marched to within two miles of New Norwich, and finding all the Indians had fled from their towns, and meeting with but a few stragglers here and there, who fled from them, they marched back to Brookfield, arriving there Sunday, August 1st, and hearing of Indians in great force about ten miles away, they sent out four men to treat with them. One of these was Ephraim Curtis (as I find by his testimony in the trial of the Wabaquassa Indian, Poquahow, for being engaged in the assault upon Capt. Hutchinson and the rest), two I think were Brookfield men, and the fourth was probably one of the Indian guides. They met the Indians about eight miles from Brookfield in a swamp, and after the young warriors had blustered and threatened a long time, their sachems agreed to meet Capt. Hutchinson and his party next day at 8 o'clock at a plain three miles from Brookfield. Capt. Hutchinson, accompanied by the troopers, scouts and three of the "chief men" of Brookfield went to the place appointed; but no Indians appeared. Whereupon the officers suspected treachery, and were earnestly warned by the Indian guides not to go on; but the Brookfield men were so confident of the good faith of the Nipmucks, and urged so hard, that at last they prevailed, and the party marched on. They supposed the Indians to be in a swamp several miles away, the approach to which was, at one point, narrow and difficult, having an impassable swamp on one side and a steep rocky hill on the other.⁷⁶ Here with their usual skill the Indians had placed their ambuscade. The English were forced to ride along this narrow pass single file. The entire company was allowed to pass the first lines of the ambuscade, which then closed up to cut off a retreat; and when the foremost of the troopers had ridden forward some sixty or seventy rods, the Indians, from their coverts on either hand along the whole line, poured in upon them a sudden and terrible volley. Eight men were killed on the spot, viz.: Zechariah Phillips of Bos-

⁷⁶ The exact spot has not been fully identified, but a careful comparison of the best authorities seems to establish the place in the narrow defile above the head of Wickaboag Pond. Local tradition, reliably transmitted, still points out the graves of the fallen in the old cemetery at West Brookfield, on the south shore of that pond. A gentleman of critical judgment, who recently visited the spot, assures me that seven graves are yet plainly visible there.

ton, Timothy Farlow of Billerica, Edward Coleburn of Chelmsford, Samuel Smedly of Concord, Shadrach Hapgood of Sudbury, and the three men of Brookfield, Sergeants John Ayres and William Pritchard, and Corporal Richard Coye; and five were wounded, viz.: Capt. Hutchinson, Capt. Wheeler and his son Thomas, Corporal John French of Billerica, and John Waldo of Chelmsford. Five of their horses were killed and many more wounded. The troopers rallied and made a dash up the hill, but, scattered as they were, and encumbered by their horses, were unable to make a permanent stand. The Indians pressed upon them closely to surround them. Capt. Wheeler escaped the first fire and dashed part way up the hill, but finding some of his men had fallen in the pass, turned back to face the enemy alone, not calling upon his company to follow, which, he says, they would have done; and then he was sorely wounded and his horse killed under him, so that he was near falling into the hands of the enemy pressing close upon him, when his son who, retreating with the rest of the company, had missed his father and turned back, now, though himself sorely wounded, dismounted and helped his father upon his own horse, and ran along beside him on foot until he found another horse whose rider had been killed, and thus closely pursued by the enemy they escaped to the rest of the company. In this brave rescue of his father, the son was again dangerously wounded in the left arm. In this juncture the remainder of the company were saved by the sagacity of the two Indian guides,⁷⁷ Sampson and Joseph Robin, who led them round by a way known to them, and thus avoided a second ambushade which the enemy had laid for them on the direct road. The credit is not given them in Wheeler's narrative, but in a certificate given these Indians by him, and afterwards published by Major Gookin.

After a difficult march of ten miles, the troopers rode into Brookfield, where they took possession of and hastily fortified one of the largest houses. The alarm spread through the town, and the inhabitants immediately left their own houses and fled to the house held by the troopers, in their fear bringing very little with them, either of food or clothing. Capt. Wheeler, finding himself, by reason of his wound, unable to conduct the defence of the garrison, appointed to that office Simon Davis, of Concord, James Richardson and John Fiske, of Chelmsford. Within two hours after they returned to the town, the Captains sent out Ephraim Curtis, and Henry Young of Concord, to carry news of the disaster to the Council at Boston, but in this time the Indians had crept warily about the town, and were found by the messengers pillaging the outlying houses. Find-

⁷⁷ Sons of old Robin Petuhanit, a faithful "Christian" Indian. Notwithstanding this service they were afterwards so unjustly used by the English that they were driven to join Philip's allies, and Sampson was killed by some scouts of the English near Wachusett, while Joseph was captured and sold into slavery in the West Indies. See "Gookin's History of the Praying Indians."

⁷⁸ Said to have been the inn kept by John Ayres, killed as above noted.

ing the way encompassed and the whole force of the enemy closing in upon them, the messengers returned to warn the garrison. Immediately the Indians came swarming upon them with fierce volleys and loud shoutings, "sending in their shots amongst us like hail through the walls." But one man, Henry Young above mentioned, was killed, and that in the evening while looking out from the garret window, and a son of William Pritchard (slain at the fight in the morning), who had ventured out of the garrison to fetch some things from his father's house still standing near by, was killed just as he was leaving the house to return, and his head was cut off and tossed about in view of the English, and then set upon a pole against the door of his father's house. All night they besieged the house fiercely, till about three o'clock in the morning August 3d, when they collected hay and other combustibles, and attempted to set the house on fire at the corner. Under cover of their comrades' muskets, a party promptly rushed out in the face of the enemies' bullets, and put it out. Only two of these were wounded. At this time, at Capt. Wheeler's request, Ephraim Curtis made an attempt to get away through the lines to carry a message, but failed; but near morning he tried again and succeeded by creeping a long distance on his hands and knees to elude the Indians, and after a day and night, fainting with hunger and fatigue, reach Marlborough on August 4th. But the news of the destruction of Brookfield had preceded him, carried by some people who were travelling towards Connecticut, and coming to Brookfield and seeing the burning houses and the killing of some cattle, turned back and spread the alarm at Marlborough, and a post was immediately sent after Major Willard who was to march that day from Lancaster to Groton. The messengers overtook him already upon the march, and upon receipt of the message he promptly marched his force of forty-six soldiers and five Indians under Capt. James Parker of Groton, towards Brookfield.

In the mean time the Indians kept up their furious assault upon the garrison, trying by every art to fire the house through all the day and night, August 3d, which the English succeeded in preventing, without injury, except to one Thomas Wilson, who was wounded while venturing into the yard outside to draw water. On August 4th, the enemy having received large reinforcements, proceeded to fortify the meeting-house near by, and also the barn belonging to the besieged house, to protect themselves from the watchful aim of the English muskets, and later they invented a machine-of-war, of a style unheard of before or since in warfare. It was a sort of trundling wheel-barrow fourteen rods long, a pole thrust through the heads of a barrel for a front wheel, and for a body long poles spliced together at the ends and laid upon short cross-poles, and truckle wheels placed under at intervals. They constructed two of these centipede-like carriages and loaded the fronts with quantities of combustibles, such as hay, flax and "candle wood." These were

scarcely completed, however, when a heavy shower fell and wet down their combustibles, so that they would not readily burn, and in the mean time Major Willard and his force arrived, and so intent were the Indians about the machines, that his company, coming about an hour after dark, gained the yard of the garrisoned house before the enemy perceived them. There was a large body of Indians posted about two miles away, on the road by which the Major's company had come, and another party of over one hundred in a house nearer the garrison. The outpost had let the company pass unharmed, depending upon those nearer to strike the blow; and these latter depending upon the others for an alarm, which either was not given or else, in the excitement of building the machines, they did not hear, both missed the opportunity of attack. As soon as they saw their mistake they attacked the Major's party with fury, but without much avail, and all were soon safely within the house. The Indians seeing their devices defeated and the garrison reinforced, set fire to the barn and meetinghouse, and in the early morning of August 5th withdrew.

Such is Capt. Wheeler's account in brief of the famous fight near Wickaboag Pond, and the subsequent defence of Brookfield. And I have followed his account thus fully and at some length, because most of the published accounts that I have seen have either conflicted with his or have been otherwise misleading.

On August 7th fresh forces arrived from Boston, and all remained at the garrison till the 10th day, when Capts. Hutchinson and Wheeler, with all of their company that were able to travel, came away and arrived at Marlborough on August 14th. Capt. Hutchinson died there of his wounds on the 19th, and was buried the next day. Capt. Wheeler and the remnants of his company remained there until the 21st, when they returned home to Concord.

Of those who were engaged in this affair, the following received credit for military service under Capt. Thomas Wheeler :

Sept. 15, 1675.		George Farly.	00 14 00
Samson Robin.	00 13 08	James Paddison.	01 14 08
Joseph Robin.	00 13 08	John Bates.	01 14 03
Sept. 28 th		Simon Howard.	01 10 00
Benjamin Graves.	02 16 04	Samuel Smedly.	00 14 00
Simon Davis.	03 08 16	Sidrach Hopgood.	00 10 00
John Buttrick.	03 01 06	November 30 th	
Oct. 19 th		John Waldoe.	04 00 00
George Howard.	01 08 06	John Fisk.	01 14 09
John Hartwell.	01 11 06	Jan'y 25, 1675-6.	
John French, <i>Corp</i> ^l .	07 04 00	James Richardson.	02 02 00
John Kittery (Kitteridg).	03 08 06		

Besides these credited above, there are several mentioned in the "Narrative" and elsewhere, who doubtless belonged to Captain Wheeler's troop—Zechariah Phillips, Timothy Farlow and Edward

Coleburn, killed at the ambuscade, and Henry Young killed at the garrison. These, with young Thomas Wheeler, make up the number to twenty-one,⁷⁹ besides the guides. Ephraim Curtis was credited as directly in the service of the Council, £2 for his service. It will be noticed that neither Capt. Wheeler nor his son receive credit in the treasurer's account, but it is seen by two items in the Court Records, first, October 13th, 1675, in answer to his petition setting forth his necessities, that he receives ten pounds, and again in October, 1676, for his own and his son's service, he is credited full wages for both from the time they left their own homes till they returned to them again, which was £28 in addition to the £10 granted him the year before, which, in the Treasurer's Ledger, is put under the head of "Contingencies," and is in part remuneration for his losses and recognition of his eminent services. The twenty-eight pounds must have included subsequent service. He remained at home for some time, and probably in that time wrote out his "Narrative." Together with others of his troop, he celebrated the 21st of October, 1675, as a day of thanksgiving for their safe return from Brookfield. Before February 29th, as is evident from the credits following, he had been out again in service. What or where that service was I have not been able to find from any published reference.

There was, however, much quiet, though efficient, service performed in those times, that the chronicler passed over in giving account of the more stirring events; and such service is often only revealed by these dim old pages of Hull's Journal, or the brief business or official letters preserved in our precious Archives. Such data may be helpful here. And first, the similarity of the amounts of credit would indicate that nearly all in this list were on the same service, and it would follow that the service was rendered before February 29th, 1676. The reference to "Groton Garrison" in the credit of a part of the men, seems to point to Groton and the neighboring towns as the place of service. And again the letter to the Court from Groton, dated February 6th, 1675-6, and signed by James Parker, Thomas Wheeler and Henry Woodhouse (Woodis), respectfully suggests that the maintenance of a scout of "forty men, troopers and dragoons," to scout between Groton, Lancaster and Marlboro', is unnecessary, the garrison at Lancaster being sufficient for such purpose. Moreover, that such method, considering the distance, renders the force unavailable in case of sudden surprise, and that such towns as Billerica and Chelmsford are weakened by the withdrawal of their troopers for this service, and that now in view of the sudden disappearance of the Weymesit Indians, the troopers from those towns "demand a release," &c. I find that many of

⁷⁹ In Rev. John Russell's list of men killed in Hampshire County, I find the name of James Hovey, killed at Brookfield, August 2. There is no other authority for the statement. The name occurs after that of Capt. Hutchinson, and it may be that he, like Capt. H., died of injuries received at the fight or garrison.

those in the list were from Billerica and Chelmsford. The letter shows this scouting service to have been going on, and I think it is safe to conclude that most of these thirty-seven men were engaged in it under Capt. Wheeler and Lieut. Woodhouse.⁶⁰

Credited under Capt. Wheeler :

Feb'y 29 th 1675-6.		David Batchelor.	01 12 10
Simon Davis (two credits)	01 11 10	Simon Crosbe.	01 12 10
81 {	Nath. Hill.	Daniel Maginnis.	00 06 00
	Jonathan Hill.	John Kitteridg.	01 12 10
	Joseph Foster.	James Pattison.	01 12 10
	John Waldo.	Jonathan Hide.	01 12 10
	Francis Dudley.	Samuel Davis.	01 02 10
	Samuel Fletcher Sen ^r .	John Brown.	01 12 10
	Samuel Fletcher Jun ^r .	Joseph Hayward.	01 12 10
	Eleazer Brown.	John Hayward.	01 12 10
	Cyprian Stevens.	Stephen Hosmer.	01 12 10
	Benjamin Graves.	John Gould.	01 12 10
81 {	John Bates.	Phinias Sprague.	01 19 04
	Stephen Goble.	Henry Green.	01 12 10
March 24 th		Joseph Winn.	01 12 10
Simon Willard	01 12 10	Sept. 23 ^d 1676.	
Thomas Tarball.	01 12 10	Abraham Jaque.	00 11 00
Joseph Blood.	01 12 10	Joseph Fitch.	01 09 00
June 24 th 1676.		Samuel Dunton.	01 09 00
Henry Woodis, <i>Lieut.</i>	04 02 02	Jonathan Prescott.	00 14 03
Joses Buckman.	01 12 10		

Of the operations of the troops about Brookfield after the retreat of the Indians, some explanation will be given in the accounts of the various captains and their companies. In estimating the number of inhabitants who were in the house and took part in the defence, we may consider the following data. The whole troop, including Capt. Wheeler and son, numbered twenty-two; Capt. Hutchinson, Ephraim Curtis and three Indians made it twenty-seven. At the fight five were killed and five wounded, one Indian guide captured, Henry Young killed at the house, and Curtis sent to Marlborough, leaving fourteen, presumably, fit for duty. There were some sixteen families gathered in the house, including fifty women and children. On August 3d Capt. Wheeler reports that only twenty-six, counting the men of the town and his soldiers, were capable of service. Hence we may infer that twelve of the inhabitants were actively engaged in the defence. Recurring now to the list of petitioners of October, 1673, published by Mr. Waite (REGISTER, vol.

⁶⁰ Many will notice how rich this list is in its suggestion of honored names—Waldo, Fletcher, Dudley, Simon Willard (son of the Major), Crosby and Hosmer, the last seeming almost a benediction, as it recalls the late Dr. George W. Hosmer. But among this goodly array comes also the wretched Stephen Goble (Gobeley), or "Gobble," as it was written later, who afterwards murdered the harmless Indian women at Watertown, and was executed in 1676 along with some murderous Indians.

⁸¹ These were credited "under Capt Wheeler and at Groton Garrison."

xxxv. 336), and counting out Ayres, Pritchard and Coy killed and Wilson wounded, we shall not be far out of the way in concluding that the others were joined with the troopers in making up the twenty-six, allowing for some changes by accessions to and removals from town between 1673 and '75. The reported numbers of four or five hundred Indians present, and eighty killed, will bear reduction by at least one half, though the English carbines were bravely effective.

The following fragment may be of interest here as showing the presence of the celebrated pirate here just after the assault was over. It is taken from the Mass. Archives, vol. 68, p. 7.

Boston, October y^e 13, 1675.

To the honored Governer & Councell of the Massathusets Colony in New England

These are to signifye that Cornellius⁸² — [sic] Consort the Dutchman was uppon the Contryes Servis Att quabauge and by the Councle of Warre there was sent out Capt. of the for lorne And Afterward marched to Grotton & Chemsfort According to my best Advice continu'd in the Countryes Servis six weekes Cornellius being Reddy to depart the Country & myself being here att boston the Major Willard being Absent I granted this ticket.

THOMAS WHEELER, Capt.

BROOKFIELD AFTER THE ATTACK.

Capt. Wheeler relates that soon after his own return from Brookfield, "the inhabitants of the town also, men, women, and children, removed safely with what they had left, to several places, either where they had lived before their planting or settling down there, or where they had relations to receive and entertain them," and "the Honored Major Willard stayed several weeks after our coming away."⁸³

The town was doubtless wholly vacated before the middle of Oc-

B. Rich. & Lm. Reg. ⁸² This was the famous Cornelius Anderson, see *ante*, vol. xxxvii. p. 172, note. In the great trial of the pirates he was constantly referred to as Cornelius Consort, i. e. Consort of Capt. Roderigo, the chief of the pirates. The name Consort thus became his familiar cognomen among the people and soldiers with whom he was very popular. Mr. Drake evidently based his decision on the above paper, not having observed the "trial" documents. I cannot tell on what occasion he led the forlorn, but it was after Capt. Mosely came, Aug. 11th or 12th, and before the 15th when he left. The Council of War was held after Capt. Wheeler had gone, but now, Oct. 13th, being in Boston, Major Willard absent at Groton, Mosely at Hatfield, Lathrop and Beers both slain, it devolved upon him to "grant the ticket."

⁸³ A small garrison was undoubtedly maintained at the fortified house some time after the withdrawal of the inhabitants, probably up to the 12th of October, and it is likely that widow Susannah Ayres remained during that time, as is indicated by her petition and account presented the Court in October, 1677, which charges supplies to soldiers under Ephraim Curtis, Major Willard and Capt. Poole; but some time before November 16th the place was vacant, for the Council on that date instructs Capt. Appleton in his march homeward from Connecticut River, if he comes by way of Quabaog, to drive down some of the cattle and swine which they have heard have gathered about the house, as a relief to the "poore people that are concerned therein." There is much material preserved in the Mass. Archives bearing upon this point of the withdrawal of the garrison from Brookfield, in numerous letters and orders of the Council to various officers, all giving evidence of the complete desertion of the town about Oct. 12th. See especially correspondence with Capt. Appleton and Lieut. John Ruddock, &c.; also petition of John Ayres's sons, Mass. Arch. Vol. 10.

tober, and remained so, except for the frequent passage of the troops to and from the west, up to the last of February following. On the 21st of that month the Council ordered "Carpenters' tooles for six men, nayles of ail sorts with hooks and hinges for doors and locks and of such sort as the chief carpenter shall appoint, to build a quarter at Quabaog," and on the 25th the committee was ordered to procure either John Brewer of Sudbury, or John Coolidge of W Watertown to go up with the army and build a house or houses for lodging and shelter of provisions, &c. A small garrison was established there under Serg't William Ingraham, who writes the Council on March 21st for relief, "men few and discouraged, need ammunition," &c. In answer the Council sent up Capt. Nathaniel Graves of Charlestown with men and horses laden with supplies, as will be seen by the following order from Mass. Archives, vol. 68, p. 173 :

Att A Council held at Boston, 22. March 1675-6

It is ordered that Capt. Nathaniel Graves of Charlestown shall be the Comānder of the Garrison at Brookfield & all Inferiour officers and Souldjers are requested to be obedjent to him :

As the said Capt. Graves is ordered to take ye Comānd of twenty troopers and thirty horses & fiveteen men besides wth the Carriage horses to be Loaden wth provision & Ammunition to be conveyed to the Garrison at Brookfield and after the Carriages are Lodged there he then send backe the Troopers & Carriage horses, dismissing them to theire several homes, And that W^m Ingram now Comānder of the Garrison at Brookfield is dismissed after Capt Graves comes there who is to returne with the Troopers & Carriages. It is further ordered that Major Savage order ten Souldiers more to strengthen the Garrison at Brookfield as soon as he Can Conveniently. And the said Capt Graves is ordered with all Convenient dispatch to march up to Brookfield wth the sayd Carriages : dated in Boston as Above.
pr EDW^d RAWSON, Secret'y.

Warrants issued forth to the Constables.

To Charlestowne for Carriage horses, 4 and 2 men	To Roxbury, Car. hor. 4 and 2 men
besides a horse for Capt Graves.	30 15
" Cambridge, Car. hor. 4 and 2men	To Capt. Prentice for 7 Troopers.
" Watertown, " " 6 " 3 "	To the Constable of Marlborough for 6 Troopers.
" Sudbury, " " 6 " 3 "	To Capt. Davis for 6 Troopers.
" Wooburne, " " 6 " 3 "	

The following letter is of interest both for the matter in hand and to show that garrison life in idleness is much the same in every age. From Mass. Archives, vol. 68, p. 237 :

Honoured Governor &

Sir we are all In Indifferent helth we dayly are goeing forth but cannot see any Indians : our provissions dus spend apace And if you Intend to Continue y^e place we must have more prouissions y^t wee have may Last

about 8 or 10 days: for my owne partt I Can be Content wth Less yⁿ many of y^r men heare: I have eatten but Littell of your provisions: I expect A release by y^e next y^t Cum up: for I am not fit for y^s Emplay being out of my way & know there are many men more fit than I for y^s Busines I do not Apprehend any danger to Ly heare for I Beleave the Indians will nott Cum to our Garreson all my feare is of our men y^t go Abroad & are not so Carefull as they shud be we have had no damage yet y^t makes us Secure if you doe Continue y^e men heare they will wantt shoves & Shurtts And Linin drawers and Tobacco & A glace to Keap watch wth all our discontent Arises from y^t now afore it was want of meate now we have enough heare are many would not care if they did stay there time out. they ow there masters here is noothing to doe but up to play And down to sleepe if y^e Country Can Afoard to maynteyn them so: I am Content rather to bare my partt of y^e Charge then to play heare where I Can do no good wth shoves and other things we had was sent to hadly & I have a Resayte for them from y^e Commissarys w^{ch} I hoap w^{ll} discharge mee w^{ch} is all y^t offers att present from

Sir, your Servant In what I am abell & understand.

28th Aprell 1676

NATHANIEL GRAVES.

On May 5th Serg't Ephraim Savage was chosen to go up to relieve Capt. Graves with new supplies, and to send home those that were sick or greatly needed at home, and to take command of the garrison, thirty of the men at least to remain. Serg't Savage was excused from the service on account of sickness, and Thomas Walker, "the brickmaker," was chosen in his stead. It would seem, however, that his health improved, for he went with a lieutenant's commission and wages, and the credit below shows him to have served, and not Walker. Of the subsequent history of the garrison there is no definite account, but frequent references to it as a base of supplies, &c., show it to have been maintained for some time.

The following names are credited with military service at the garrison:

At Brookfield.

June 24, 1676.		Ezekiel Levitt.	01 04 00
John Rayman.	01 00 00	John Norton.	01 09 00
James Kelling.	05 01 00	John Mansell.	01 18 00

At Quabauge (Brookfield).

July 24, 1676		Charles Duckworth.	03 15 00
Joseph Hide.	01 00 06	John Cromwell.	03 15 03
Isaac Perkins.	01 01 04	John Norton.	01 12 06
Nicholas Rawlins.	00 07 00	William Bodkin.	04 12 06
George Norton.	00 06 04	John Jeffery.	04 19 04
Benjamin Dunnage.	01 08 03	Joseph Swady.	04 12 06
John Artsell.	01 08 00	Ebenezer Engellsbee.	04 12 06
Thomas Scott.	01 04 00	Henry Pellington.	05 07 00
Thomas Cooper.	05 00 00	John Algar.	03 02 06
Thomas Philips.	05 03 06	Thomas Stacie.	01 12 06
Joseph Garfell.	00 17 00	Sylvester Haies.	04 10 00
Benjamin Pickerin.	04 10 00	John Simple.	03 02 06

John Glide.	05 08 00	August 24 th 1676	
Benjamin Bucknall.	04 15 00	John Cromwell.	02 09 06
Ephraim Savage, <i>Lt.</i>	04 07 09	Charles Duckworth.	02 09 06
Christopher Cole.	03 02 06	Edward Blancher.	05 10 00
Charles Blinco.	03 13 00	David Crouch.	02 06 02
John Mansell.	01 10 00	David Jones.	07 06 06
Nathaniel Partridg.	05 08 00	Philip Sandy.	05 08 00
John Sargent.	03 02 06	Thomas Phillips.	00 18 00
		John Cutler.	05 09 08

There is no reliable evidence that the town of Brookfield was resettled before 1686 or 7. Many families were there before 1693, and a garrison house had been built, when, on July 27th of that year, a band of twenty-six Canada Indians attacked the town and killed and captured several of its inhabitants.

In addition to note 76 on page 62, it may be said that to any one unacquainted with the geography of Brookfield, the testimony of previous writers would point to the defile near the head of Wickaboag Pond, and Rev. Lyman Whiting, a native of the town and well acquainted with its history and traditions, in his bi-centennial address at the two-hundredth anniversary of the town's settlement, given July 4, 1860, sums up as follows:

"The scene of this bloody ambush cannot be fixed with certainty. A recent inspection with Wheeler's narrative in hand, however, quite assures me that tradition rightly points to the defile from the head of Wickaboag pond, crossing the present town line into New-Braintree." The decision of the question turns mainly on the locality of the "plain" where the meeting was appointed with the Indians. If that place was, as seems most probable, near the head of the pond, then, according to both Capt. Wheeler and Mr. Hubbard, the battle-ground was "four or five miles" away. The only other place answering to Capt. Wheeler's description is some four or five miles to the northward of the pond in the present town of New-Braintree, near the location of the ancient "chief town" of the Nipmucks known as "Meminisisset." The careful investigations of Dr. L. R. Paige seem to prove clearly that this latter place is the real battle-field.

NO. VI.

MAJOR SIMON WILLARD AND HIS MEN.

OF all the names that stand upon the pages of New England history, none are more honored than that of Major Simon Willard. His biography has been written in the "Willard Memoir," and therefore only a brief outline will be necessary here. He was born at Horsmonden, County of Kent, England, baptized April 7, 1605. He was the son of Richard and his second wife Margery. Simon married in England Mary Sharpe, of Horsmonden, who bore him before leaving England (probably) three children, and six in New England. He married for a second wife Elizabeth Dunster,⁸⁴ who died six months after her marriage; and a third wife, Mary Dunster, who bore him eight children, between the years 1649 and 1669. Simon Willard arrived in Boston in May, 1634, and settled soon after at Cambridge. He was an enterprising merchant, and dealt extensively in furs with the various Indian tribes, and was the "chief instrument in settling the towne" of Concord, whither he removed at its first settlement in 1635-6, and remained for many years a principal inhabitant of that town. On the organization of the town he was chosen to the office of clerk, which he held by annual election for nineteen years. It is said upon respectable authority that he had held the rank of captain before leaving England, and in Johnson's "Wonder Working Providences," he is referred to as "Captain Simon Willard being a Kentish Soldier." In 1637 he was commissioned as the Lieutenant-Commandant of the first military company in Concord. At the first election, December, 1636, he was chosen the town's representative to the General Court, and was reelected and served constantly in that office till 1654, except three years. In that year he was reelected, but was called to other more pressing duties; and afterwards to his death was Assistant of the Colony. In 1641 he was appointed superintendent of the company formed in the colony for promoting trade in furs with the Indians, and held thereafter many other positions of trust, either by the election of freemen or the appointment of the Court, too many to admit of separate mention here. In 1646 he was chosen Captain of the military company which, as Sergeant and Lieutenant,

⁸⁴ This is questioned by some authorities. It is fully discussed in the "Memoir," and see also REGISTER, vol. iv. p. 309; also Dr. Paige's "History of Cambridge," under Henry Dunster.

he had commanded from its organization. For many years he was a celebrated surveyor, and in 1652 was appointed on the commission sent to establish the northern bound of Massachusetts, at the head of Merrimac River, and the letters S W upon the famous Bound-Rock (discovered many years ago near Lake Winnepesaukee) were doubtless his initials, cut at that time (REG. i. p. 311). In 1653 he was chosen Serjeant-Major, the highest military officer of Middlesex County.

In October, 1654, Major Willard was appointed commander-in-chief of the military expedition against Ninigret, Sachem of the Nyan ticks, for the details of which see the "Willard Memoir," page 193 and onward. In the settlement of the town of Lancaster Major Willard had been of great service to the inhabitants, and their appreciation was shown when, in 1658, the selectmen wrote him an earnest invitation to come and settle among them, offering a generous share in their lands as inducement. This invitation he accepted, sold his large estate in Concord, and removed to Lancaster, probably in 1659, and thence to a large farm he had acquired in Groton, about 1671, at a place called Nonacoicus.

At the opening of "Philip's War," Major Willard, as chief military officer of Middlesex County, was in a station of great responsibility, and was very active in the organization of the colonial forces. His first actual participation in that war was in the defence of Brookfield, the particulars of which have been noted. We must admire this grand old man of seventy, mounting to the saddle at the call of the Court, and riding forth at the head of a frontier force for the protection of their towns. On August 4th he marched out from Lancaster with Capt. Parker and his company of forty-six men, "to look after some Indians to the westward of Lancaster and Groton" (Major Willard's home was in Groton at this time), and receiving the message of the distressed garrison at Brookfield promptly hastened thither to their relief, which he accomplished, as we have seen in a former article. Upon the alarm of the disaster at Brookfield, a considerable force soon gathered there from various quarters. Two companies were sent up by the Council at Boston, under Captains Thomas Lathrop of Beverly and Richard Beers of Watertown, and arrived at Brookfield on the 7th. Capt. Mosely, also, who was at Mendon with sixty dragoons, marched with that force, and most of Capt. Henchman's company (just off the pursuit of Philip from Pocasset), and arrived at Brookfield probably about August 12th (see *ante*, vol. xxxvii. page 177). From Springfield came a Connecticut company of forty dragoons under Capt. Thomas Watts, of Hartford, with twenty-seven dragoons and ten Springfield Indians under Lieut. Thomas Cooper, of Springfield. These forces for several weeks scouted the surrounding country under Major Willard; the details of which service belong properly to the accounts of the several Captains. In addition to these were forty "River Indians"

from the vicinity of Hartford, and thirty of Uncas's Indians under his son Joshua, who scouted with the other forces. The Nipmucks could not be found, and it was afterward learned from the Indian guide, George Memecho, captured by the Nipmucks in Wheeler's fight, that on their retreat from Brookfield on August 5th, Philip, with about forty warriors and many more women and children, had met them in a swamp six miles beyond the battle ground, and by presents to their Sachems and otherwise, had engaged them further in his interest; and all probably hastened away towards Northfield and joined the Pocomtucks, and thence began to threaten the plantations on the Connecticut River. After several days diligent searching, on August 16th, Captain Lathrop's and Beers's companies, the latter reinforced by twenty-six men from Capt. Mosely, together with most of the Connecticut, Springfield and Indian forces, marched towards Hadley and the neighboring towns, while Mosely went towards Lancaster and Chelmsford. Major Willard remained for several weeks at the garrison. Mr. Hubbard and Capt. Wheeler make this statement, and further relate that he soon after went up to Hadley on the service of the country. I think the visit to Hadley was after August 24th, as on that date I find a letter from Secretary Rawson to him, enclosing one to Major Pyncheon, and advising him to ride up to Springfield and visit Major Pyncheon "for the encouragement of him and his people." The writer of the "Willard Memoir" states that he was in command of the forces about Hadley for some time in the absence of Major Pyncheon, but I have been unable to find any confirmation of this, unless it may be the inference drawn from Hubbard, who states that when Major Willard "returned back to his own place to order the affairs of his own regiment, much needing his Presence," he left "the Forces about Hadley under the Command of the Major of that Regiment." The letter above contained directions about the disposal of his forces, &c., which would naturally take several weeks to accomplish, and although the precise date of Major Willard's return from Brookfield is not given, some inference may be drawn from circumstances noted further on. Following is the list of those credited with service under Major Willard, from August 23d to January 25th, 1675:

August 23 ^d , 1675		John Tarball.	02 03 00
Richard Keatts.	01 02 00	Lot Johnson.	02 04 06
Sept 17.		Onesiphorus Stanley.	02 04 06
Thomas Hincer.	04 00 00	Josiah Parker.	00 11 00
Sept 21 st		Samuel Davis.	00 11 00
Jonathan Prescott.	00 14 00	James Nutting.	00 11 00
John Divall.	00 11 00	October 5 th	
Sept 28 th		Paul Fletcher.	02 10 00
James Parker, <i>Capt.</i>	01 02 00	Edward Foster.	02 10 00
James Knap, <i>Serg^t.</i>	03 00 00	John Barrett.	02 10 00
James Fisk.	00 16 09	Gershom Procter	02 10 00
Matthias Farnsworth	00 12 06	Ephraim Hildred.	02 07 00

Jonathan Chrisp.	01 04 06	Anthony Hancock.	01 01 06
John Heale.	04 15 06	Nov. 20 th .	
John Hawes.	04 00 00	John Brookes.	02 04 06
James Smedly.	04 00 00	Simon Willard, <i>Major</i> .	10 00 00
Thomas Tally.	04 00 00	John Bateman.	03 00 00
Josiah Wheeler.	02 17 00	Paul Fletcher.	02 01 00
October 19 th 1675		John Coddington.	03 00 00
Thomas Rogers.	02 07 04	John Gleason.	02 03 00
John Shead.	02 02 04	Daniel Lincolne.	01 05 08
Benjamin Simons.	03 06 08	William Wade.	02 03 00
Simon Willard, <i>Major</i> .	30 00 00	William Kerby.	00 12 00
Humphrey Jones <i>alias</i>		Consider Atherton.	00 15 00
Johnson.	01 18 06	Nov. 30 th	
Josiah White.	00 12 00	John Brookes.	00 11 00
Daniel Gaines.	00 12 00	Edward Wright.	00 10 00
Ephraim Sawyer.	00 12 00	Abraham Cousens.	01 05 02
Daniel Adams.	00 08 00	Dec. 20	
Thomas Beamon.	00 08 00	John Severy.	00 10 02
Simon Willard. ⁶⁵	03 00 00	January 25. 1675-6	
Samuel Cleaveland	03 06 04	Philip Read, <i>Doctor</i> .	09 07 04
John Bateman.	03 15 00	John Smith.	02 06 04
John Jefts.	02 03 04		

The foregoing list of credits I presume to embrace the company of Capt. Parker, who marched with Major Willard to the relief of Brookfield on August 4th. I judge that Capt. Parker, with some sixteen or more of these men, returned to Groton before August 16th, as on that date Capt. Mosely had sent twelve men to Groton to help secure the town; and Capt. Parker writes the Council on August 25th about their affairs, asking for arms and ammunition, as they are expecting an attack upon the town. Those that went back with him were very likely Groton men, and it is probable are represented by the smaller credits. Capt. Parker acknowledges the receipt of twenty men from Capt. Mosely and Major Willard, and these were, doubtless, in addition to the number of his own men that returned with him. The rest of his company remained with Major Willard, as may be shown by their larger credits.

From a paper which was presented to the Court after Major Willard's death, in statement of his unpaid services and expenses for the government, it appears that

"From the 20th of September (1675) till the 18th of April (1676), the Major was employed about the country business, Settling of Garrisons in towns, and settling of Indians at Concord and Chelmsford, and other business," &c.

The paper is given in full in the "Willard Memoir," and shows that this was a time of constant anxiety and activity in those towns,

⁶⁵ The Major's son. His horse was killed at Brookfield, for which the Court allowed £3 in October, 1676.

and that the Major's house at Nonacoicus (in the town of Groton, now within the town of Ayer) was a place of frequent rendezvous for the troops passing hither and thither, and of entertainment to those who came to the Major on the country's business.

On September 8th the Council issued an order to Cornet Thomas Brattle and Lieut. Thomas Henschman to march to Chelmsford with fifty men, collected, thirty from Norfolk and twenty from Middlesex Counties, and distribute them in the garrisons in the frontier towns of Groton, Lancaster and Dunstable. This order was probably in answer to Capt. Parker's appeal of August 25th. The men were to be left under the command of the chief officers in each town; and as Major Willard is not referred to at all, it would seem probable that he had not yet returned from Brookfield, but sometime before September 20th he was at home; and when Capt. Henschman was sent, about that date, to organize an expedition to Pennacook with orders to withdraw eighty men from the several garrisons before mentioned, he was instructed to meet Major Willard at his home, and consult with him and the chief officers of the several garrisons as to the expedition. This meeting took place on September 25th, and on the same day Major Willard, together with officers Adams, Parker and Kidder, addressed a remonstrance to the Council against the withdrawal of so many of their soldiers. Capt. Henschman reports the same meeting in his letter of Sept. 27th. The Council, for various reasons, concurred with the Major, and the expedition was abandoned.

For the succeeding months Major Willard was busily engaged in ordering the defences of the Middlesex frontier towns and settling the various bodies of friendly Indians. Garrisons were maintained at Lancaster, Chelmsford, Groton and Dunstable, and the entire available force of the county was kept in a "posture of war." During the time that the army of the colony was absent at Narraganset, there is evidence from frequent letters, petitions, &c., from these frontier towns, that the people felt comparatively secure; but when Philip, after the Narraganset fight, fleeing with his surviving warriors, came again into the vicinity, their fears were again aroused, especially when, about February 6th, the army abandoned the pursuit, leaving the Indians in the woods about Brookfield, and returning to Boston were disbanded. The Council, not insensible to the danger which thus threatened these towns, immediately issued orders to Major Willard to raise a large force of dragoons to scout in front of the towns of Groton, Lancaster, &c., to Marlborough. This plan met with immediate remonstrance from the towns, and appeals were at once made to the Council against the measure, as it withdrew many from the garrisons to a great distance for days together, leaving them exposed to sudden incursions from the prowling and watchful enemy.

At this time Major Willard was so busy ordering the defences of

the towns that he was unable to take his seat in the Council, and sent them a letter of explanation. This letter is not found in the archives, but the answer of the Council is as follows, giving some idea of the contents.

"Sir. The Council received your letter and are sorry for your excuse for not coming to the Council by reason of the state of Lancaster, which we desire you to endeavour to the utmost of your power to relieve and succour. We are using our best endeavours to prepare more forces to send to distress the enemy. You shall hear more from us speedily, and in the interim we desire you to be in readiness if you should have a full command over the forces to be sent forth from the Colony.⁸⁶

E R Secy

11 Feb. 1675."

The Council's letter was written the day after the attack upon Lancaster, of which evidently they had not heard. Major Willard was probably at this time at Groton or Chelmsford, where an attack was daily expected, doing all in his power with the small force at his command to protect these towns from surprisal. After the attack upon Lancaster, a large party of the Indians swept down towards Plymouth Colony, taking Medfield on the way, February 21st, and for the time distracting attention from the main body, which, as soon became evident, were still in the vicinity of "Wachusett Hills." On February 19th Major Willard and Capt. Parker, in behalf of the people of Groton, send an earnest appeal to the Council for help and advice. On the 21st the Major was present at the sitting of the Court at Boston, and remained during the session. He was at Cambridge on March 4th, and certainly did not return to Groton till after March 7th, as on that day he was at the Court of Assistants. It was probably by his endeavors that a levy was ordered to be made on Norfolk and Essex counties (forty-eight from Essex and forty from Norfolk). These forces were hastily collected, and under the stress of the news of the attack upon Groton were placed under the command of Capt. Joseph Cook, of Cambridge, and ordered to report to Major Willard at Groton at once. This action was taken by Major Gookin and Thomas Danforth, two members of the Council living at Cambridge, and was approved by the Council at their next meeting, March 16th.

On March 9th the Indians again appeared at Groton, doing some mischief, and again on the 13th in full force, and destroyed all the houses in town except the garrison houses, and one even of these, from which, however, the people had escaped. I think that Major Willard marched up from Watertown with Capt. Cook's force on

⁸⁶ The last clause in the letter may show in what high esteem Major Willard was held by the Council, both as a military leader and also for his wide influence among the people. We cannot tell whether he declined the command when the expedition grew to larger proportions and involved his withdrawal from the towns near his home, but it is safe to infer that personal considerations either way did not signify with him when the Council demanded his service. The expedition was not ready until February 21st, and then, as has been related, Major Savage was appointed to command, and Major Willard was present at the Council at that time.

the 12th or 13th, and arrived at Groton on the 14th,⁸⁷ as the Indians retired on that day, apparently aware of the approaching force. The people got safely within their garrisons before the attack, and but one man, probably, John Nutting, was killed. The town was abandoned within a few days, and the inhabitants removed to the towns nearer the coast. Major Willard, with his family, removed to Charlestown. It is likely that he had removed his family sometime before the destruction of his house on the 13th, as that stood in an exposed position, and his son Samuel Willard, the minister of Groton, had another of the garrisoned houses.

The Indians were greatly elated at their success at Groton, and threatened to attack and destroy all the towns, including even Boston, and Major Willard's orders were, after relieving Groton, to scout back and forth to protect the neighboring towns, especially Chelmsford and Marlborough. The business of the removal of the people of Groton was committed to Capt. Joseph Sill, of Cambridge, who went up with troops and some sixty carts for that purpose. This design was successfully carried out, although the force guarding the long line of carts was so small, and an ambush was laid and an attack made upon the advance from a very advantageous position. Two of the "vaunt Carriers" were mortally wounded, but the English were promptly drawn up for battle, and after a few shots the enemy retired before their well-aimed volleys. In the mean time Major Willard, and his Essex and Norfolk men, were not idle, as will be seen by the following account, prepared by him, of his movements from March 21st to the 29th. Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 186.

A short narative of what I have atended unto by the Councill of late, since I went to relieve Groatton. The 21: 1: 75-76, I went to Concord, and divided the troope committed unto me from Essex & Norfolke into three pts one to garde the carte, pressed from Sudbury, one pt for y^e carte pressed from concord, both to Lancaster, one pt for y^e carte that went from Charlestowne & Wattertowne that went volintiers or wear hiered when I had sent them to their severall places I came downe being the 22:

⁸⁷ This theory seems to reconcile, somewhat, conflicting accounts, and is supported by the following evidence. Mr. Hubbard says—"March 2 They assaulted Groton: the next day over night Major Willard with seventy Horse came into the Town; forty foot also came up to their relief from Watertown, but the Indians were all fled." We know that this cannot be true in the matter of the date, but it is fair to infer that the arrival of Major Willard with the troops was inadvertently transferred from the 13th to the 2d, as he immediately proceeds to relate the events which we know took place on the 13th. Again, there is much evidence to show that Major Willard was not present at either attack on the town. The Court's letter to Willard on Mar. 16th (the same day on which the order to Capt. Cook was approved) was directed to Groton, and indicates that he had arrived there with the soldiers, and the Court was aware of it, judging from the clause, "if you have issued that business at Groaten at least done what you can," &c. This letter is not in the Archives, but was preserved by Mr. William Gibbs, a descendant of Major Willard. It is published in full in the "Willard Memoir." The explanation of Mr. Butler, in his "History of Groton," that Mr. Hubbard's "over night" is a misprint for "fortnight," seems untenable in the light of the above evidence, taken together with the fact that "next day over night" is an expression of frequent recurrence in Mr. Hubbard's history, and "next day fortnight" is seldom if ever used by him, and moreover would be a jump in the matter of time that not only seems out of place, but passes over the attack of the 9th, of which he was well aware.

1: 75-6: & went to concord the 25: 1: 75, when I came there & inquired how it was with Lancaster the auswer was they weare in distresse, I p'sently sent 40 horse thither to fetch away corne, and I went that night to Chellmsfoord to se how it was with them, they complayned, Billerikye Bridge, stood in great need of beinge fortified, I ordered that to be don, also they told me, that the Indians made two great rafte of board & rayles, that they had gott, that laye at the other syd of the river, I ordered 20 souldiers to go over & take them, & towe them downe the River, or p'serve them as they se cause, the 27 of this instant I went from Chellmsfoord to concord agayne when I came there, the troopers that I sent to Lancaster last had brought away all the people there, but had left about 80 bushells of wheat & Indian corne. yesterday I sent: 40: horses or more to fetch it away, & came down from concord, this day I expect they will be at concord, Some of the troope I relesed when this last worke was don, the other I left order to scout abroad untill they heare from me agayne, I thought it not meet to relese men, when we stand in need of men, my desire is to know what I shall do herin in, concord & chelmsford look every day to be fired, and wold have more men but know not how to keepe them, nor paye them, your humble servant.

SIMON WILLARD 29: 1: 76.

The troops that went up from Norfolk and Essex were credited under their special officers, and will there appear. The following are those who receive credit under Major Willard, and are those probably who were employed in scouting with him in the early part of the winter.

CREDITED UNDER MAJOR WILLARD.

February 29 th		John Dexter.	00 07 00
Thomas Wheeler	02 16 08	Samuel Green.	00 07 00
June 24 th		Joseph Wilson.	00 07 00
Edward Young.	01 04 00	John Lind.	00 07 00
July 24 th		Thomas Newell.	00 07 00
John Bush.	01 04 00	John Sprague.	00 07 00
Isaac Fellows.	01 05 06	Thomas Munge.	00 07 00
Samuel Ingolls.	01 10 10	Peter Towne.	00 07 00
Samuel Bishop.	01 10 10	Thomas Wheeler, jr.	04 00 00
August 24 th		William Prince jr.	01 07 04
William Green.	00 08 06	September 23 ^d	
Phinias Sprague.	00 07 00	Francis Whitmore.	00 10 00
John Green.	00 07 00	Daniel Gowen.	01 17 04

On March 29th Major Willard was in his seat at the Court of Assistants, and his family was then living at Charlestown. He was also at the session of the County Court at Cambridge at its session beginning April 4th. On the 11th he was reëlected as Assistant, having the highest number of votes cast for any magistrate except the governor and deputy governor. He was constantly engaged in his public duties until April 18th, when he retired to his home and was struck down it is thought by an "epidemical cold" which was then raging, and on April 24th "died in his bed in peace, though God had honoured him with several signal victories over our enemies in war," says a contemporary historian. No man was ever more fully or

more deservedly honored in life and death than Major Willard.⁸⁸ His funeral at Charlestown on April 27th was an occasion of great pomp for that time, six military companies parading under command of Capt. HENCHMAN, and his death created profound sorrow far and wide. There are numerous references to his death and funeral in the literature, records and MS. journals of that day. His family was reimbursed for his great expense and service, in 1677, and again in 1681 a grant of land of one thousand acres was set aside for his six youngest children when they should come of age.

He left a numerous posterity, many of whom have held honorable positions in succeeding generations. His widow married Deacon Joseph Noyes of Sudbury, July 14, 1680, and died in that town, December, 1715.

⁸⁸ I consider the remarkable story of his being cashiered and censured by the Court for marching to the relief of Brookfield "beside his orders," as almost too absurd for contradiction here. It rests entirely upon the authority of Rev. Nathan Fiske, in a note to his Centennial Sermon in 1775, and no one else has ever been able to find a shadow of evidence, either in tradition or record, affording even a clue to the origin of the story of Mr. Fiske. Major Willard was chief commander in Middlesex County, and conducted military operations in the county at his discretion, and the records are very full of the Court's unqualified approval of his management from first to last.

NO. VII.

CAPT. RICHARD BEERS AND HIS MEN.

SOME light may be thrown upon the history of Capt. Beers by the following petition in Mass. Archives, vol. 67, page 163 :

“To the Governour,” &c. &c. “Humble Petition of Rich^d Beeres of Watertown ”

“Whereas your petitioner hath bin an Inhabitant of this jurisdiction ever since the first beginning thereof & according to his weake abillities served the same not only in times of peace But allsoe wth his person in pequod warr in two severall designes when the Lord delivered them into our hands as allsoe uppon his retorne such a weaknesse fell uppon his boddy that for Eaight years Space he was disinabled to labor for his flamyly Spending a (grat)? part of that little hee had uppon Plesitions & having hitherto had not any land of the Country & of the Towne but one Acre and a halfe besides that he hath purchased, Humbly desires this Honoured Court to Grant him Such a parcell of land (where he can find it in this wilderness) as shall seem meet to this Honoured Courte, and the rather Seing he hath many children to share in the Same which shall further ingage him for the future As in duty hee is bound to Serve & Honour Y^r in the Lord.”

“October 24, 1665.”

The deputies in answer voted him five hundred acres, but the magistrates cut it down to three hundred.

The first expedition from Massachusetts against the Pequods was in the latter part of the summer of 1636, a force of eighty men under Capt. Endicot of Salem; and the second was made in conjunction with the forces of Connecticut and Plymouth, and Massachusetts sent one hundred and sixty men under Cpts. Patrick of Watertown and Trask of Salem, with Capt. Israel Stoughton of Dorchester as commander in chief. Richard Beers was admitted freeman at Watertown, March 9, 1637, was granted a license to “keep an ordinary” in Watertown in 1654, and continued that business during his life. He was representative to the General Court thirteen years, and selectman of Watertown thirty-one years, holding both offices at the time of his marching to Brookfield, August 6th, 1675. Before leaving home on that day he made a nuncupatory will, proved Oct. 5, 1675. He left a widow Elizabeth and eight children, as follows (abbreviated from “Bond’s Watertown”) : Sarah, died before Oct. 10, 1639; Sarah, 2d (born probably about 1641); Mary, born March 10, 1643; Eliezur, administered jointly with Capt. Richard’s widow Elizabeth upon his estate in 1682, married April 21, 1690, widow Susanna (Harrington) Cutting, and died

without issue, Dec. 5, 1701; Judith, born March 26, 1646; Jabez, born August 4, 1651; Elnathan, married about 1681 Sarah Tainter; Elizabeth; Richard, born Oct. 22, 1659; and Abigail, born April, 1662. From Hull's *Journal* I find that Eliezur served under Capt. Cutler in 1676. Elnathan was sergeant in his father's company in the west, and afterwards served under Capt. Sill. Capt. Beers's age was probably about 63.

It will be noted that in the first campaign to Mount Hope, the troops were drawn almost wholly from the vicinity of Boston, Suffolk and Middlesex counties. In the latter part of July a levy had been made in Essex, and when on August 4th or 5th the news of the disaster at Brookfield came to the Council, the company from Salem and vicinity was summoned and sent up to the relief of the distressed garrison, under the command of Capt. Lathrop, and another company from Watertown under Capt. Beers. According to Capt. Wheeler, these troops arrived at Brookfield on Saturday afternoon, August 7th, and it is probable that the troops sent up from Hartford and Springfield arrived later, perhaps the same evening. It is possible that it was on Monday, 9th, or Tuesday, that the troops in force marched out to "Meminisisset, where Capt. Hutchinson and Capt. Wheeler were assaulted,"⁸⁹ and having found no signs of Indians in the vicinity, the company from Springfield left the others and marched northward and around to Springfield again, while the rest returned to Brookfield. The English were sorely puzzled as to the whereabouts of the Indians, and continued scouting for several days in the vicinity of Brookfield, probably as far as Hadley, knowing that Philip had now joined the Nipmucks, and fearing that the main body of the Indians were at no great distance. Gardiner's bill, given below, indicates Lathrop's presence at Hadley, August 12, but within two days he was again at Brookfield. There, being recruited by the large force that came up with Capt. Mosely from Mendon, an advance in force was resolved upon, and on Aug. 15th, Capt. Lathrop and Beers with their companies marched by way of Meminisisset to Springfield. Capt. Mosely with his troops accompanied them as far as the swamp, the scene of Wheeler's fight, where he separated from them and marched away towards Chelmsford and Lancaster, leaving twenty-six of his men to recruit the company of Capt. Beers (see *ante*, page 24). The troops under Capt. Lathrop and Beers, joined at Springfield by the forces under Capt. Watts, together with the Connecticut Indians, spent several days exploring the country up along Swift River and the Connecti-

⁸⁹ Much doubt has existed as to the exact locality of the Wheeler fight, as we have noted previously; but Dr. L. R. Paige has investigated the matter fully, and feels sure that the place was some five miles from the head of Wickaboag Pond, in the swamp near the Indian rendezvous called Wenimisset, or Meminisisset, which answers Capt. Wheeler's description in every particular. The other place which has been considered the scene of attack, is some two and a half miles northward from Wickaboag Pond, just over the town line between West Brookfield and New Braintree, in what was formerly known as "Ditch Meadow." It is hoped that the investigations made quite recently concerning this matter will be published.

cut, without finding the Indians, and on Aug. 22d, as we learn from Major Pyncheon's letter to the Connecticut Council, the Massachusetts troops had returned to Brookfield again, and Capt. Watts with his forces was at Hadley.

On August 23d Lathrop and Beers had again joined Watts at Hadley, and at a council of war held on that day it was resolved to disarm the Hadley Indians who had gathered at their fort on the west side of the river, about half way between Hatfield and Northampton. Preparations were made for carrying out this design on the 24th. Messengers were despatched to Northampton to secure the coöperation of the force there, which was to move as near to the Indian fort as possible unperceived, while Capts. Lathrop and Beers crossed the river to Hatfield, to approach the fort from that side. In the mean time peaceful demands had been made upon the Indians to deliver up their arms, and one of their sachems had come before the council to present their objections; and it is probable that many of their old men and others of the tribe were in favor of submission, but were overruled, and before the English had completed their preparations it was found that the Indians had all escaped, having killed one old sachem, who, it is said, opposed the flight and refused to join it.

The Indians fled on the night of the 24th, and on the morning of the 25th Capts. Lathrop and Beers with one hundred men pursued them, coming upon them unexpectedly "at a place called Sugar-Loaf Hill," "about ten miles above Hatfield," according to Mr. Hubbard; "at a swamp beyond Hatfield," says Mr. Russell of Hadley, writing soon after. "The place is now unknown," says the late eminent historian of Hadley, Mr. Judd; while Messrs. Temple and Sheldon, the careful historians of Northfield, locate the scene "in a swamp just south of Mt. Wequomps, in the present town of Whately." Here an engagement ensued, which is most reliably described perhaps by the following extract from a letter written by Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton, on Sept. 15th, 1675, to Rev. Increase Mather of Boston:

"They (the English) intended to parley with the Indians, but on a sudden the Indians let fly about forty guns at them, and were soon answered with a volley from our men; about forty ran down into the swamp after them, poured in shot among them, made them throw down much of their baggage, and after a while our men, after the Indian manner, got behind trees and watched their opportunities to make shots at them. The fight continued about three hours; we lost six men upon the ground, though one was shot in the back by our own men; a seventh died of his wound coming home, and two died the next night, nine in all, of nine several towns, every one of these towns lost a man. Of the Indians, as we hear since by a squaw that was taken, and by three children that came to our town from them the day after, there were slain twenty-six." . . .

From Mr. Russell's "List of the men slain in the County of

Hampshire," Mass. Archives, vol. 68, p. 33, from another list in vol. 67, p. 254, and from various other sources, it is judged that the following is a correct account of the killed at this fight of August 25th :

Samuel Mason of Northampton.	*Mark Pitman of Marblehead.
James Levins of Roxbury?	*Joseph Person of Lynn?
Azariah Dickinson of Hadley.	*Matthew Scales of Rowley.
Richard Fellows of Hatfield.	William Cluffe of Charlestown?
*John Plummer of Newbury.	
[* Were of Capt. Lathrop's company.]	

After this skirmish the Indians made good their escape and probably joined the Pocumtuck tribe then living near Deerfield river. The English marched back to Hatfield, and thence crossed to Hadley, where other troops from Connecticut and from the East were gathering, expecting a general attack from the main body of the Indians, now believed to be concentrated at Paquoag (Athol). Nothing however was done by the Indians until Sept. 1st, when the Pocumtucks, now joined by the Norwottucks (or Hadley Indians), fell upon Deerfield, where but a small garrison was stationed, burned most of the houses and killed one of the garrison, James Eggleston, of Windsor, Conn., of Capt. Watts's company. In Mr. Russell's list the name of Nathaniel Cornberry is given also as slain at Deerfield, but it was probably later, perhaps on the 12th, when Mr. Stoddard relates another assault upon some of the people going to meeting, of whom one was taken alive by the Indians.

Hadley was at this time the head quarters of the English, and probably Capts. Lathrop and Beers, with their companies, were there on September 1st.⁹⁰ It is certain that they were there on the 2d, and were organizing a force to bring off the garrison at Northfield. But on that day (Thursday, Sept. 2d), while this expedition was in preparation, and the Northfield people and the garrison soldiers were abroad in the fields at work, a large body of Indians suddenly fell upon that town, killed many of the people as they fled from their homes and fields towards the garrison, burned all their exposed houses and destroyed cattle and crops. There were sixteen families in the town. The English killed at this time, according to Russell's list, were eight :

Sergt. Samuel Write.⁹¹ (Wright) Ebenezer Jeans. (Janes)

⁹⁰ The story of an attack upon Hadley, originating in a reference by Mather to an "alarm" at Hadley, and enlarged by Gov. Hutchinson in his history to an "attack," in which the regicide judge General Goffe played the part of deliverer, which story subsequent writers have expanded as reliable history, giving graphic accounts of the widely circulated legend of the "Angel of Hadley," as explained by the sudden appearance of Gen. Goffe, &c. &c., I consider to be entirely without foundation in fact. See Hist. and Gen. Register, vol. xxviii. p. 379, a full and able discussion of this whole matter, by Mr. Sheldon of Deerfield.

⁹¹ In the History of Northfield is additional information. Sergt. Wright, aged 45, the Janeses, sons of Elder William Janes, aged respectively 16 and 14, were all of Northfield; Parsons, aged 20, and Curtis, were of Northampton; Peck was of Hadley; Scott, Ipswich? and Dunwich, residence unknown, perhaps identical with Benjamin Dunnage, credited at Brookfield. But one Indian was known to have been killed.

Jonathan Jeans. (Janes)

Ebenezer Parsons.

Benjamin Dinwick. (Dunwich)

Nathaniel Curtis.

Thomas Scott.

John Peck.

Hadley was thirty miles from Northfield, and, unaware of this assault, Capt. Beers on the next morning, Friday, Sept. 3d, set forth with thirty-six mounted men and one ox team on his march to bring off the garrison and people. The march was slow and toilsome, and darkness came upon them when still three or four miles from Northfield, and they were obliged to encamp for the night. It is supposed that the camping was near the small stream called "Four-mile brook." Early on the morning of Saturday the 4th, Capt. Beers with most of his force started on foot, and leaving the horses at the camp with a small guard, and taking the team with stores and ammunition, advanced towards the town, still ignorant of the previous day's assault, and it seems entirely unsuspecting of an enemy in the vicinity. The best authority for the scene and circumstances of the engagement is probably that of Messrs. Temple and Sheldon, the historians of Northfield, which I follow. "He appears to have kept up on the high plain till he came in sight of the little brook, now known as Saw-mill brook. The ravine was now covered with a rank growth of grass and ferns, and the leaves were thick on the young trees." It was at this place that the Indians had placed their ambuscade. He advanced across the brook by the accustomed fording place, and just at the passage, and when his company was most exposed, was furiously attacked in front and flank, and all were thrown into great confusion, but soon rallied and fought bravely for their lives, but were forced back by superior numbers some three-quarters of a mile to a narrow ravine on the south of a hill now known as "Beers's Hill." Here a stand was made, and here the little band fought about their leader, with the courage of desperation, till their ammunition was exhausted, and the captain with nearly every man had fallen; only a few escaped, joined the guard left behind with the horses, and made their way back to Hadley, thirteen in all. An undoubted tradition points out the grave of Capt. Beers in the ravine where he fell. Hoyt in his history, published in 1824, says that the bones of the slain were still occasionally found protruding from the sandy knoll where the battle began. Mr. Hubbard relates that twenty men were killed with their leader. Mr. Russell, in his list, says sixteen, and gives the names of eleven. His list is as follows :

"At Squakheage y^e 4 of Sept 16 men were Slayn."

Capt. Rich^d Beers.

John Chenary.

Ephraim Child.

Benjamin Crackbone.

Robert Pepper.

Joseph Dickinson.

William Markham.

George Lycuss.

John Gatchell.

James Miller.

John Wilson.

Another list in the Mass. Archives, vol. 67, p. 254, adds several names and varies the spelling of several, thus :

"List of Capt. Beeres and those slain soldiers, 1675."

Capt. Beeres.	John Genery.	
John Getchell.	Jeremiah Morrell.	
Benjamin Crackbon.	Elisha Woodward.	
Ephra' Child.	William Marcum	} Hadley men.
George Lickens.	Joseph Dickerson	
John Willson.	James Mullard.	
Thomas Cornish.	James Egleston	
Robert Pepper.	killed with Capt. Beeres."	

"8 killed at Squakeage with Capt. Beeres of whom there is no accot."

It will be noticed that James Egleston, who was killed at Deerfield, is set down here. Robert Pepper of Roxbury was not killed, but taken captive and returned home afterwards. Besides the thirteen that escaped to Hadley that same night, three more came in next day. It is said that several others counted as killed were taken prisoners and afterwards tortured to death. One, whose name is unknown, was reserved for torture, but was freed by a friendly Natick Indian and made his escape. John Parke, son of Thomas of Cambridge Village, was wounded in the fight "in the elbow joint and the bone broken," &c. He remained at Hadley till Maj. Appleton's march home, Nov. 24. (See Mass. Archives, vol. 69, p. 198.) Probably the Indians engaged in this assault were less than one hundred and fifty in number, composed of the Squakeags, parties of Nashaways, Quaboags, Naticks and Marlboroughs, led by Monoco, alias "One-eyed John," and Sagamore Sam. The number of Indians slain was said to be twenty-five, which is probably too large an estimate.

On the next day, Sept. 5th, Major Treat, who had come from Hartford to Hadley on the 3d with a company of Connecticut men, one hundred strong, marched up to Northfield. At night (Sunday, 5th) he camped probably near the camp of Beers, and on the 6th went forward to the scene of the battle, finding a ghastly sight, for many of the heads of the slain had been cut off and set upon poles by the wayside. Pausing only long enough to perform hasty funeral rites, he passed on to the garrison and found all safe. Hurriedly collecting the people and all their effects possible, but obliged to leave the cattle, he marched for Hadley the same evening. Mr. Stoddard, in his letter, says "they left the bodies unburied," which probably has reference to the eight killed at Northfield in the attack on the 2d. Small bodies of the enemy were still lurking in the vicinity of the village, and a party of the English that ventured into the fields were attacked,⁹² and Major Treat was slightly wounded in

⁹² Mr. Sheldon has found evidence that this party was engaged in burying the dead, and had already found the body of Sergt. Wright and buried it upon the hill which afterwards became the Northfield burying-ground, when attacked by the Indians.

the thigh. It is said that many of the cattle followed in the retreat of the English, and afterwards came into Hadley. The following are the names of those who are in Hull's Journal :

Credited with Military Service under Capt: Richard Beeres.

October 5, 1675.		William Russell.	04 16 00
John Shattuck, ⁹³ <i>Sergt.</i>	02 07 06	George Licas.	01 05 08
Edward Jackson.	00 18 00	December 20 th 1675.	
Ephraim Beeres.	00 12 10	Richard Wood.	04 16 00
November 9 th 1675.		John Cooke.	02 14 00
Joseph Sill, <i>Leut.</i>	08 11 06	John Harrington.	04 16 00
Nathaniel Bright.	03 08 06	Nathaniel Peirce.	03 05 02
Elnathan Beeres, <i>Sergt.</i>	05 02 09	Gustin John.	05 04 06
Nathaniel Sanger.	04 02 06	January 25 th 1675-6.	
Samuel Prentis.	01 04 00	John Wilson.	01 05 08
November 20 th 1675.		John Bowditch.	01 16 00
Jacob Hurd.	03 14 06	Ephraim Child.	01 05 08
Richard Beeres, <i>Capt.</i>	06 08 06	Benjamin Taynter.	04 16 00
Joseph Fuller.	03 07 08	February 29 th 1675-6.	
John Parkes.	03 07 08	Thomas Hastings.	02 05 00
Benjamin Crackbone.	02 18 00	Nathaniel King.	00 12 00

The probable reason that so few are credited under Capt. Beers is the fact of his brief command, and also that the twenty-six men delivered to him at Brookfield by Capt. Mosely would probably return to Mosely and be credited under him; and I am inclined to think that those who survived and continued in the service would look to Capt. Joseph Sill, Beers's lieutenant, to sign their vouchers, and would receive credit under him or the officer that appeared afterwards in command.

CAPT. THOMAS LATHROP AND HIS MEN.

Thomas Lathrop, or Lothrop, emigrated from England to Salem. He was admitted freeman in 1634, and settled on the "Bass River" side of the town, where he received a grant of land near Mackerel Cove in 1636. He was lieutenant of the Salem Train-Band in 1644 under Capt. Hathorn, and succeeded him as captain of the Artillery Company in 1645. Mr. Felt relates that he was a captain under Major Sedgwick in the expedition of 1654-5 against Acadia, when St. Johns and Port Royal were reduced. He was an active and influential citizen, represented Salem in the General

⁹³ Shattuck escaped only to be drowned shortly after, crossing Charlestown Ferry. (See Daniel Gookin's account in his "History of Christian Indians." Transactions of Am. Antiquarian Society, vol. ii. p. 466.) John Harrington of Watertown was badly wounded, but escaped and lived to old age.

Court in 1647, '53 and '64, and when Beverly was set off in 1668 was chosen first selectman of the new town, and thereafter, till his death, remained a leading actor in all its affairs, civil, ecclesiastical and military. He married Bethia, daughter of Daniel Rea and sister of Joshua, who after his death and before June, 1680, married Joseph Grafton, of Salem, and again for her third husband, June 26, 1683, Dea. William Goodhue, of Ipswich. She died Dec. 6, 1686. Capt. Lathrop left no children, and his sister Ellen, who came with him from England, and became the second wife of Ezekiel Cheever, with her children inherited his estate. The age of Capt. Lathrop is put at 65 years by Mr. Stone in his history of Beverly.

In August, 1675, when the news of the disaster at Brookfield came to the Council, Capt. Lathrop was placed in command of the company raised in Essex County, with some men from Boston and vicinity, and marched up to Brookfield, where he joined the forces of Capt. Beers. Their companies acted mostly together thereafter up to the time of the latter's march from Hadley on September 3d.⁹⁴

Elated by recent successes, the Indians pressed more closely about those western towns, watching warily that no opportunity might pass to strike a safe and telling blow. Their leaders constantly outgeneralled our officers, and in every engagement took care to have the odds in numbers, position and method of attack on their side; and while we are horrified at their atrocities, we can but admire their adroitness and persistence. In the mean time additional forces of the English were gathering at Hadley and vicinity, and all were under the general direction of Major John Pynchon, of Springfield, commander-in-chief in the county of Hampshire. On the return of Major Treat from Northfield with the garrison and people of that place, a council of war was held, at which it was decided to strengthen the various garrisons and hold the army for the present on the defensive. The Commissioners of the United Colonies had agreed to raise an army of five hundred men for this campaign on the Connecticut River. Besides the forces of Lathrop and Beers, Capt. Appleton had arrived from the East early in September, and Capt. Mosely with a company of sixty on Tuesday, Sept. 14th, at evening, and probably on the 15th crossed the river and marched up to Deerfield. There, on the Sunday before, the Indians had made an assault on twenty-two men passing from one garrison to another to meeting; none of ours were killed, but one was taken alive and probably afterwards killed, and Mr. Judd suggests that

⁹⁴ It is doubtful which of the two were in chief command in the battle of Sugar-Loaf Hill, on August 25, but from the fact that in all the early accounts, viz., Hubbard, Stoddard's letter, Capt. Mosely's endorsement of Dr. Lock's bill, wherein he says, "Having joined myself with Capt. Lathrop having the seniority commanded the s^d Chyrurgeon from mee." From these references I think it probable that Capt. Lathrop was in chief command, although in his "Lancaster" letter Mosely speaks of marching in company with "Capt. Beeres and Captain Laytrop."

this was Nathaniel Cornberry, noted by Mr. Russell as among the slain. The Indians then burned two houses, secured several horse-loads of beef and pork, killed many horses, and with their plunder betook themselves to a hill in Deerfield meadow. On the reception of this news at Northampton, the officers there raised a body of volunteers, who with others from Hadley and a part of Capt. Lathrop's company, marched up on Monday, 13th, to Deerfield garrison, and on the next day went out with the soldiers of the garrison to attack the Indians at the hill, but they were all fled. Major Treat, on Sept. 9th, had returned to Hartford, leaving a part of his force distributed in the various towns in garrison. On the 15th or 16th he came to Northampton with additional Connecticut troops, and Capt. John Mason, of Norwich, came there soon after with a body of Mohegan and Pequod Indians. I think it probable that the remainder of Capt. Lathrop's company, except the sick and wounded, passed over with Capt. Mosely.

Such was the position of affairs on Sept. 18th. At Deerfield a large quantity of corn had been gathered from the fields and loaded upon carts, teams and drivers provided, and Capt. Lathrop with his company were appointed as a guard to Hadley, where it was to be stored. The English evidently had no thought that any considerable force of the enemy were in the vicinity, and Capt. Mosely and his company remained behind and were scouting in search of them through the woods about. But a large body⁹⁵ had crossed the river secretly, and, undiscovered, were watching every motion of the English; and now with their usual tactics they placed a large ambuscade in a place which offered unusual advantage, across the line of march. This place was some five miles from the place of starting, at what is now South Deerfield village, where a small stream, then known as "Muddy Brook" (but ever since as "Bloody Brook"), crossed the road. The English seem to have taken no precaution whatever against surprise, and many of the soldiers it is said had placed their arms upon the carts to be carried, and were gathering wild grapes by the roadside.

We can never know with certainty much of the details of the battle, or rather massacre, that ensued. The survivors on this occasion were few, and doubtless if questioned could give but incoherent and exaggerated accounts. Moreover, contemporary historians seem to have been indifferent to particulars, and to have inclined rather to moralizing upon general events, and succeeding historians have mainly repeated the stories of the first, and it is only within the last few decades that our devoted historical societies, with their increasing facilities, have made the methods of intelligent criticism

⁹⁵ The Nipmunks, joined with Philip's Narragansetts and Wampanoags. The whole number was estimated at the time from five to seven hundred. It is doubtful whether Philip was present in person. The loss of the Indians in the subsequent action with Mosely and Treat was doubtless heavy, but the story of "96 slain" is unworthy the least credit. They carefully concealed their losses.

possible. Gen. Epaphras Hoyt, of Deerfield, wrote a history of the Indian wars more than fifty years ago, which seems to be the first effort at analysis. In that work are many important questions raised and valuable suggestions presented. In regard to this affair he suggests that the main part of the troops had passed over the brook and were waiting the slow movements of the lumbering teams over the rough roads. The Indians crept stealthily about and encompassed the whole company and fell upon them with sudden and terrible fury, so that many were shot down or disabled at the first volley, including probably Capt. Lathrop. Doubtless a brave resistance was made, but with little avail.⁹⁶ The coming of Capt. Mosely upon the scene after the disaster, his subsequent fight and opportune reinforcement by Major Treat, have been previously related.

As to the number of the English killed in this encounter, early accounts vary. In the postscript to a letter from the Massachusetts Council to Richard Smith, of Narraganset, dated Sept. 22, 1675, and still preserved in the Archives, vol. 67, p. 262, the statement is made that "above forty of Capt. Lathrop's men with himself were slain;" and then it is further stated that Capt. Mosely lost eleven men in the subsequent fight, which together with many lost that were with the teams made up sixty-four in all, who were buried the next day. Mr. Mather relates that above three-score were slain. Mr. Hubbard reckons eighty as the number in the company of the English, including doubtless the teamsters, and says that not above seven or eight escaped. In Rev. Mr. Russell's list, noticed above, the number of slain is put at seventy-one. This last is probably nearly correct, as Mr. Hull's credits, now for the first time published, after a lapse of more than two hundred years, go far to prove. The list pertaining to "Bloody Brook" is given below entire. It has been copied from the original with the utmost care, and proved and tested letter by letter till I feel sure of its accuracy. This list was first copied by Mr. Coffin some fifteen years before he published his "Newbury," and is the most nearly correct of any list that has been published hitherto that I know of; but a comparison of his text with the original will show many mistakes. The following is the list:

"At Muddy-Brook bridge y^e 18 Sept. 71 men slaine."

Capt. Thomas Laythrop	Caleb Kemball	George Ropes
Sergt. Thomas Smith	Thomas Hobs	Joseph Kinge
Samuel Stevens	Robert Homes	Thomas Alexander

⁹⁶ In the Harleian Miscellany, vol. 8, p. 72, in a letter sent from Boston, Mass., to London, Dec. 28, 1675, containing the official manifesto issued by the Massachusetts Council, Dec. 7, 1675, explaining the course of events in the war, is the following reference to Capt. Lathrop:

"Yet let not the world censure too much Capt. Lathrop; he, in the Pequot wars, had done exploits; nor in this would have been behind-hand if the narrow passage or causey, where his unexpected enemies set on him, would have given him leave to have drawn up his men."

John Hobs	Edward Traske	Francis Freinde
Daniel Button	Richard Lambert	Abel Osyer
John Harriman	Josiah Dodge	John Littleale
Thomas Bayley	Peter Woodberry	Samuel Hudson
Ezekiel Sawier	Joseph Bolch	Adam Clarke
Jacob Kilborne	Samuel Whitteridge	Ephraim Farrah
Thomas Manninge	William Duy	Robert Wilson
Jacob Waynwrit	Serg ^t Samuel Stevens	Steven Welman
Benjamin Roper	Samuel Crompton	Benjamin Farnell
John Bennett	John Plum	Solomon Alley
Thomas Menter	Thomas Buckley	John Merrit

The forty-two above were evidently soldiers of Capt. Lathrop, and the following were set down by Mr. Russell as including the teamsters :

Robert Hinsdall ⁹⁷	Joshua Carter	William Smeade
Samuel Hinsdall	John Barnard	Zebadiah Williams
Barnabas Hinsdall	James Tufts	Eliakim Marshall
John Hinsdall	Jonathan Plimpton	James Mudge
Joseph Gillett	Philip Barsham	George Cole
John Allin	Thomas Weller	

From sundry petitions preserved in the Archives, and from casual references here and there, we find a few additional names. Joseph Prince, of Salem, was pressed under Capt. Lathrop and went as far as Quaboag, but was there given leave to go home to his dying father, and did not return to the army. Mrs. Ruth Bates had two sons, Clement and Solomon, who went out with Lathrop and survived the fight, if they were in it, and spent the winter in the garrison at Westfield; Clement was killed there in the spring, and the mother petitions in April, 1676, for the release of Solomon. John Smith's petition, Archives, vol. 69, p. 23, shows that two servants of his had been pressed, and one of them having been out some three months, was killed with Capt. Lathrop; his name is not given, but the other, Mungo Craford, having been out near ten months, was left through the winter as a garrison soldier at Hadley or near, and is still there. Smith petitions for his release or pay for his service. Smith was of Boston, and Craford returned and settled there; Mrs. Bates was the widow of Clement of Hingham.

In a note in the Appendix to Edward Everett's *Bloody Brook*

⁹⁷ Father and three sons. Most of the others were Deerfield men. George Cole is credited under Capt. L., and was probably of his company, perhaps of Lynn. The following men are set down as of Deerfield, and credited by Hull in the "Beefe" account. Richard Weller, William Pixly, Daniel Weld, James Tufts, William Smeade, Joseph Gillett, Experience Hinsdall, John Stebbin, John Hawkes. Nathaniel Suttle is credited for cattle. Others credited for cattle, billeting, &c., at the same time, June 24, 1676, but of course for the year before; Sarah Field, Ephraim Hinsdall, Solomon Stoddard, Thomas Mekins, Barnabas Hinsdall, Joshua Carter, John Plimpton, Thomas Hastings, Samson Frary, Quentin Stockwell, John Allen, Moses Crafts, Samuel Hinsdall, Peter and Jonathan Plimpton. Thomas Weller was probably son of Richard, and Barnard was of Hadley, son of Francis. Barsham and Williams were of Deerfield, Marshall and Mudge were probably of Lathrop's company. Marshall, sometime of Stratford, Conn., now perhaps of Boston, and Mudge, of Malden, son of Thomas and Sarah.

oration, Rev. Joseph B. Felt gives the above list, and adds the place of residence of many. The following in Hull's Journal are

Credited under Capt. Thomas Lathrop.

October 19, 1675		Andrew Stickney.	01 16 00
John Palmer, <i>Corpl.</i>	04 11 00	George Ropps.	01 17 08
Nov ^r 9, 1675		Benjamin Roper.	01 17 08
John Langbury.	02 08 10	Ephraim Farrar.	01 16 00
Edmond Bridges.	01 00 00	Solomon Ally.	01 16 00
Joseph Emons.	01 17 00	Benjamin Funnell.	01 16 00
Samuel Rust.	02 08 00	John Merrett.	01 17 08
John Plum.	01 17 08	February 29 th 1675-6	
November 30 th 1675		Edmond Moore.	03 12 00
Richard Lambard.	01 18 06	Eleazer Keyser.	00 12 00
Samuel Stevens.	02 13 10	Thomas Manning.	02 10 06
Robert Holmes.	02 08 00	Thomas Rose.	03 00 00
Joseph Balch.	01 18 06	Stephen Warman.	01 17 08
Thomas Lathrop, <i>Capt.</i>	09 13 00	John Littlehall.	01 17 08
Peter Woodbury.	01 18 06	John Andrews.	01 01 09
Paul Thorndike.	03 04 04	Samuel Crompton.	01 18 06
John Plummer.	00 18 00	Jacob Wainwright.	02 14 06
Edward Trask.	02 03 00	June 24 th 1676	
Thomas Buckley.	01 17 08	Thomas Mentor.	01 18 06
Samuel Steevens.	01 17 08	Zekariah Davis.	07 04 00
Samuel Chapman.	00 18 10	Thomas Rose.	04 04 00
Thomas Kemball.	00 12 10	Thomas Smith.	01 18 06
Caleb Kemball.	01 16 00	George Cole.	03 11 06
Thomas Hobbs.	01 16 00	Timothy Bray.	01 05 08
Jan'y 25, 1675-6.		John Denison.	00 16 02
William Dew. (Due)	01 18 06	July 24 th 1676	
Josiah Dodge.	01 18 06	John Bullock. ⁹³	15 08 00
John Harriman.	01 18 06	Joseph King.	01 16 00
Mathew Scales.	00 18 00	August 24 th 1676	
Joseph Pearson.	00 18 00	Mark Pitman.	01 16 10
Jacob Kilborn.	01 18 06	Thomas Bayly.	01 16 10
Thomas Baily.	01 18 06	Abel Ozzier.	01 16 00
Ezekiel Sawyer.	01 18 06	John Bennett.	01 17 08
Blaze Vinton.	01 08 08	Moses Pengry.	01 19 40

In addition to the above names and facts, we glean the following from various sources. From Coffin's History of Newbury we learn that on August 5th, 1675, were impressed at Newbury,

Steven Greenleaf	Caleb Richardson	Daniel Button
Thomas Smith	Daniel Rolf	John Wheeler
John Toppan	John Hobbs	Henry Bodwell

And fourteen days' provision supplied them by the town. John Toppan at Bloody Brook was wounded in the shoulder, but concealed himself in the bed of a brook nearly dry by pulling grass and

⁹³ Bullock was "crippled" in the war, and his large credit may be due to that. He was of Salem, and was afterwards favored by the Court and granted a license to keep a "victualling shop," January 9, 1680.

weeds over his body, and thus escaped, though several times the Indians stepped over him. A similar story is told of a soldier who escaped at Beers's fight. Henry Bodwell had his left arm broken, but being of great strength and courage seized his gun in his right hand and swinging it about his head charged furiously through the Indians and got away. Greenleaf, Toppan, Richardson, Wheeler and Bodwell were credited Dec. 10th, under Major Appleton, with such large amounts that I think the service must have included time under Capt. Lathrop. Rolf was credited at Marlborough garrison. Thos. Vary (Very), under Capt. L., was wounded. See his petition, Mass. Archives, vol. 69, p. 260. In Felt's Ipswich it is stated that Thomas Scott (killed at Northfield) had been of Ipswich, as also Thomas Manning, Jacob Wainwright, Caleb Kimball, Samuel Whittridge. Robert Dutch, of whom Mr. Hubbard relates the wonderful recovery from apparent death, was also of Ipswich. Mention is made also of James Bennet slain, and John Fisher wounded.

The following bill of Jacob Gardiner, from Mass. Archives, vol. 69, p. 44, contains further names and suggestions.

"An Amount of worke Done for Souldiers under y^e Commands of Capt: Latherup by Jacob Gardener & by y^e order John Coalman Comesary & Daniel White Counstable of Hattfield 12th of August '75

Tho: Hobbes. a paire of shewes	0. 6. 0
Sam: Hudson: A paire of Shewes & Leather	0. 9. 2
Tho: Bayleff ffor mending shewes	0. 1. 2
Josiah Bridges Scabert	0. 1. 3
Robert Leach a Scabert and mending His Shewes	0. 2. 9
Tho: Tenne a pouch & Belt and Mending his Shewes	0. 1. 3
Thomas Peckes a pouch	0. 1. 0
Capt. Latherup 3 belts	0. 3. 0
Daniel Ring a pouch & belt	0. 1. 6
Abiell Sadler a pouch & belt	0. 2. 0
frances Young a pouch & belt	0. 1. 9
Gershom Browne a purse & belt	0. 1. 9
John Tapin; a pouch & belt	0. 1. 9
Steven Butler a pouch & belt	0. 1. 9
John Presson a pouch & belt	0. 1. 9
John Danis a pouch & belt	0. 1. 9
Samuel Hibbert a pouch & belt	0. 1. 9
Tho: Hayson a pouch & belt	0. 1. 9
Tho: Hobbs a pouch & belt	0. 1. 9
Walter Hickson a powder bage & belt	0. 2. 9
John Boynton for mending Shewes	0. 2. 0
John Wicher a belt	0. 1. 3
Tho: Hayson a belt	0. 1. 3

The Totall 2. 12. 1

To the Honnoured Comety This is to Certifie you that these goods have been delivered to y^e persons above written by y^e order of:"

I think it may be fairly inferred from the above bill, that nearly all, if not all, those mentioned were in Capt. Lathrop's company. Fourteen of these were credited afterwards under Major Appleton, and will there appear with names a little differently spelled; for instance, Whicher, Hazen, Toppan, Tenney, &c. Hobbs and Bayley are in Russell's death-list, Hickson was credited under Capt. Poole. Presson served under Gardner at Narraganset, and next year under Capt. Turner. Hudson and Peckes appear in a later Ledger, proving that they were not among the unknown slain.

Gen. Hoyt, before mentioned, writing in 1824, relates that, "The place where this tragic affair happened is near the centre of the village of Muddy-Brook, and about thirty rods southerly of the meeting-house in that place. The stage road passes over the ground and crosses the brook on a small bridge, precisely where Lathrop passed. A rude monument was erected near the place of attack sometime after the catastrophe. It stood in what is now the front yard of the house of Stephen Whitney, Esq., on the east side of the public way, but is now gone to decay, and two plain stone flags, lying near the front of the house, are its only remains. Several gentlemen have it in contemplation to repair the old or erect a new monument, near the same spot, with appropriate inscription." The "stone slab" spoken of below may have been placed by the gentlemen referred to. See N. E. H. G. REG., vol. xxvi. p. 435.

On September 30, N. S. (erroneously supposed to correspond to the 18th, O. S.), 1835, the Anniversary of Lathrop's defeat was celebrated at Deerfield, and a monument was afterwards erected there, bearing this inscription :

"Erected August, 1838."

"On this ground Capt. Thomas Lathrop and eighty men under his command including eighteen teamsters from Deerfield, conveying stores from that town to Hadley, were ambushed by about 700 Indians, and the Captain and seventy-six men slain Sept. 18th, 1675."

Some twenty rods south of this monument the grave of the slain is marked by a stone slab bearing the simple inscription, "Grave of Capt. Lathrop and men slain by the Indians, 1675."

On the occasion of the celebration in 1835, Edward Everett delivered the oration, and Miss Harriet Martineau was present, and afterwards wrote a sharp criticism of it. Both address and criticism were fine as literary productions, but equally faulty as history.

I am indebted to the Hon. George Sheldon, of Deerfield, for many valuable suggestions in preparing the above chapter.

ADDITIONAL.—In the Mass. Archives, vol. xlv. p. 111, there is a petition of Capt. Lathrop, showing that he was in the two expeditions against the Pequods in 1636-7. This petition has the signature, "Thomas Lawthrop," and is dated 8:3mo. 62; and while I have some doubt whether here the writing is his own, there can be no doubt of his signature in vol. lxvii. p. 50, where it appears in a faltering hand as "Tho: Lawthropp."

NO. VIII.

MAJOR SAMUEL APPLETON AND THE FORCES UNDER HIM.

A FULL account of the Appleton family has been published in the "Appleton Memorial" and various other works, and renders a brief sketch sufficient for our purpose here. Samuel Appleton, the ancestor of nearly all of the name in this country, and the first to appear here, was descended from the ancient family of Appulton of Waldingfield, Suffolk, England. He was the son of Thomas, and was born at Little Waldingfield in 1586; married Judith Everard, by whom he had six children born in England. John, born 1622; Samuel, born 1624; Sarah, born 1629; Mary, Judith and Martha. With this family he came to New England in 1635 and settled at Ipswich, where he was admitted freeman, May 25, 1636. He was chosen deputy to the General Court, May 17th, 1637, and was prominent in the affairs of his town thereafter, and died at Rowley in June, 1670. The eldest son John became an influential man in the colony. Was successively lieutenant, captain and major, and deputy to the General Court for fifteen years between 1656 and 1678, and was honorably prominent in opposition to the Andros government. He married Priscilla Glover, by whom he had a large family, and died in 1699. Of the daughters above mentioned, Sarah married Rev. Samuel Phillips, of Rowley, 1651. Judith married Samuel Rogers, son of Rev. Nathaniel, of Ipswich. Martha married Richard Jacob, of Ipswich.

Major Samuel Appleton, second son of Samuel first, and the subject of this article, was born as noted above, at Waldingfield, and came with his father to Ipswich at the age of eleven years. His first wife was Hannah Paine, of Ipswich, by whom he had Hannah, Judith and Samuel. By his second wife, Mary Oliver (at mar-

riage, Dec. 8, 1656, aged sixteen), he had John, Major Isaac, Oliver and Joanna. He was chosen deputy to the General Court in 1668, under the title Lieut.; also in 1669 to 1671, in company with his brother Capt. John, and again by himself in 1673 and 1675.

I have not been able to find the exact date on which Capt. Appleton marched from the Bay up towards Hadley, but infer that it was about the first of September, and Mr. Hubbard relates that when Major Treat (on Sept. 6th) marched down from the rescue of Northfield, bringing the garrison, he met Capt. Appleton going up, who strongly urged him to turn back and pursue the Indians; but the Major overruled his wishes, and all marched back to the headquarters at Hadley. The course of events from this time to September 18th has been previously related. In the assignment of troops for the defence of the various towns, Capt. Appleton seems to have remained at Hadley, and to have been in close relation with Major Pynchon in the conduct of affairs. His Lieutenant John Pickering, and doubtless a part of his company, were with Capt. Mosely in the fight succeeding Lathrop's defeat, and when a few days after it was decided to abandon Deerfield, and the garrison and inhabitants were removed to Hatfield, Capt. Mosely was stationed there with his force, Major Treat and his men quartered at Northampton and Northfield, and Capt. Appleton remained at Hadley busily employed in reorganizing the Massachusetts forces, caring for the wounded, and preparing for the next attack of the enemy.

Although Capt. Appleton had been in this service several weeks, his commission as "Capt. of a company of 100 men" was not issued by the Council until September 24th. (He already held the rank of Captain of the local company in Ipswich; this was a special commission for active service.⁹⁹) By the heavy losses under Cpts. Lathrop and Beers, the Massachusetts forces were greatly reduced, and the survivors of their companies were much demoralized by the loss of the captains, and gloom and discouragement prevailed throughout the colony. It was therefore with great difficulty that the Council filled the quota of three hundred assigned by the commissioners. Secretary Rawson wrote to Major Pynchon, September 30th, "The slaughter in your parts has much damped many spirits for the war. Some men escape away from the press, and others hide away after they are impressed."

It will be seen by the following orders, that the Council was using every endeavor to push forward troops to repair their losses.

Mass. Archives, vol. 67, p. 265.

The Council do order & appoint Capt. John Wayte to conduct the 120 men appointed to rendezvous at Marlborough the 28th day of this instant

⁹⁹ By his position he now ranked as Major, but military officers were regularly elected by the people and confirmed by the Court. He was appointed Sergeant-Major of the South Essex regiment in October, 1652, shortly after the death of Major General Denison.

September & to deliver them unto the order of Maio' John Pincheon Com-
 ander in Cheefe in the County of Hampshire & it is further ordered y^t in
 case Capt. Samuel Appleton should bee com away from those parts then
 the said Capt. Wait is ordered to take the conduct and chardge of a Com-
 pany of 100 men under Maio' John Pincheon but in case Capt Apleton do
 abide there then Capt. Wait is forthwith to returne Backe unles Maio'
 Pincheon see cause to detyne him upon y^e service of the country
 past. E. R. S. 24 Sept. 1675

On the same paper is the following :

It is ordered that there be a comission issued forth to Capt. Samuel Ap-
 pleton to Comand a foot Company of 100 men In the service of y^e coun-
 try. But in case hee should be com away from those parts then that Capt.
 Waite is to have (a) like comission. past 24 Sept. 1675

By y^e Council

E R S

Ordered y^t y^e Commissary Jn^o Morse deliver Mr Thomas Welden snap-
 pant musket.

The Indians were gathered in great numbers on the west side of
 the river, and were probably under the direction of Philip, although
 it is doubtful if he was personally present in any of the assaults.
 Small parties were constantly lurking near the frontier towns, Hat-
 field, Northampton, and as far as Springfield, where, on September
 26th, they burned the farm-house and barns of Major Pynchon on
 the west side of the river. Major Pynchon says, in a letter to the
 Council, Sept. 30th :

"We are endeavouring to discover the enemy and daily send out scouts,
 but little is effected. Our English are somewhat awk and fearful in scout-
 ing and spying, though we do the best we can. We have no Indian
 friends here to help us. We find the Indians have their scouts out. Two
 days ago two Englishmen at Northampton being gone out in the morning
 to cut wood, and but a short distance from the house, were both shot down
 dead, having two bullets apiece shot into each of their breasts. The In-
 dians cut off their scalps, took their arms and were off in a trice."

According to Russell's list of killed, these men were Praisever
 Turner and Uzacaby Shakspeer. Up to this time the Springfield
 Indians had been friendly and remained quietly in their large fort
 on the east side of the river towards Longmeadow. Some uneasiness
 had been felt of late in regard to them, and Major Pynchon had con-
 sulted the commissioners about disarming them. The Connecticut
 Council advised against the measure, and recommended rather to re-
 ceive hostages from them, to be sent to Hartford for security. This
 plan was adopted and the hostages sent; but the Indians, excited
 by the successes of the hostiles, and probably urged by secret agents
 of Philip, resolved to join the war against the English. They man-
 aged the escape of their hostages, and waited the opportunity to
 strike their blow. On Monday, Oct. 4th, a large body of the enemy
 had been reported some five or six miles from Hadley, and imme-
 diately all the soldiers were withdrawn from Springfield to Hadley,

and were preparing to go out against the Indians the next morning, but during the night a messenger arrived from Hartford or Windsor, reporting that Toto, a friendly Windsor Indian, had disclosed a plot of the Springfield Indians to destroy that town next day, and that five hundred of Philip's Indians were in the Springfield fort, ready to fall upon the town. Thereupon, early on the morning of Tuesday, October 5th, Major Pynchon, with Capts. Appleton and Sill, and a force of one hundred and ninety men, marched for Springfield, arriving there to find the town in flames and the Indians just fled. Maj. Treat had also received news of the intended attack, and hastened from Westfield with his company, arriving on the west side of the river some hours before the Massachusetts forces came, but was unable to cross, though five Springfield men escaped through the enemy's lines, hotly pursued, and carried over a boat in which a party attempted to cross, but the Indians gathered upon the east shore and fired upon them so fiercely that the attempt was abandoned until Major Pynchon came. The Indians burned some thirty dwelling-houses and twenty-five barns with their contents, Maj. Pynchon's mills, and several of his houses and barns, occupied by tenants. Fifteen houses in the "town-plat," and some sixty more in the outskirts and on the west side were left unharmed. The people had taken refuge in the garrison-houses, which were not attacked. Two men and one woman were killed, viz., Lieut. Thomas Cooper, who before the assault rode out towards the fort to treat with the Indians, having two or three men with him, and was shot by an enemy concealed in the bushes a short distance from the town, but managed to ride to the nearest garrison-house, where he died. His companion, Thomas Miller, was killed on the spot. During the assault, Pentecost, wife of John Matthews, was killed, and Nathaniel Browne and Edmund Pringridays were mortally wounded.

The above account is the substance of letters written by Major Pynchon and Rev. John Russell, October 5th and 6th. The number of Indians engaged has probably been much over-estimated. The Springfield squaw captured at the time, reported the whole number at two hundred and seventy. Mr. Russell said the Springfield people thought there were not "above 100 Indians, of whom their own were the chief." Rev. Pelatiah Glover, the minister of Springfield, lost his house, goods and provisions, together with a valuable library which he had lately removed to his house from the garrison-house where it had been stored for some time.

On October 8th Major Pynchon writes to the Council an official account of the situation, telling of the great discouragement of the people and their sad state; the loss of their mills makes a scarcity of bread, and the many houseless families throng the houses that remain. The Major advises to garrison all the towns, and abandon the useless and hazardous method of hunting the Indians in their

swamps and thickets. The commissioners were opposed to this course, especially those of Connecticut, who insisted that the purpose of the army in the field was to pursue and destroy the enemy instead of simply protecting the towns. In this letter of the 8th, Major Pynchon says they are scouting to find which way the Indians have gone, and also that on that day Maj. Treat is summoned away to Connecticut by the news of a large body of the enemy near Wethersfield. He then earnestly reiterates his unfitness for the chief command, and declares that he must devolve the authority upon Capt. Appleton, with the permission of the Council, unless Major Treat return, when he will await their orders. The Council had, however, already granted his former request, and on Oct. 4th had appointed Capt. Appleton to the chief command in his place. His commission, together with letters and orders to Major Pynchon, were sent up by Lieut. Phineas Upham and his company of recruits, and did not reach them until October 12th, when he immediately took command. The commission is as follows :

Capt. Appleton.

The Councill have seriously considered the earnest desires of major Pynchon & the great affliction upon him & his family, & have at last consented to his request to dismiss him from the cheefe command over the Army in those parts, and have thought meet upon mature thoughts to comitt the cheefe comānd unto yourselfe, being perswaded that God hath endeowed you with a spirit and ability to mannage that affayre; and for the Better inabling you to yo^r imploy, we have sent the Councills order Inclosed to major Pynchon to bee given you; and wee refer you to the Instructions given him for yo^r direction, ordering you from time to time to give us advise of all occurrences, & if you need any further orders & instructions, they shall be given you as y^e matter shall require. So comitting you to the Lord, desireing his presence with you and blessing upon you, wee remaine :

Your friends and Servants

Boston 4th of October

Capt. Samuel Appleton,

Commander in cheefe at the head quarters at Hadley.

The letter of October 4th, from the Massachusetts Council to Major Pynchon, in which the orders above referred to were inclosed, is in the Massachusetts Archives, vol. 67, p. 280, as follows :

Mass. Council to Major Pynchon

Honoured S^r

Your letter dat Sept. 29. wee received and although wee could have desired your continuance in that trust committed to you as comānder over o^r forces in y^r p^{ts}, yet considering your great importunity y^e reasons alledged wee cann but greatly simpathize with you in y^e present dispensation of Divine Providence towards your family in your absence and have ordered Capt. Apelton to take the charge as Comander in Cheife over the united forces whiles in o^r Colony, and uppon a removall of the seat of Warr the Commanders to take place according to (the) appoyntment of y^e Commissioners. Wee have considered (that) you will not be wanting to afford the

best advice & assistance you may, although dismiss from y^e perticular charge. It is the Lord's holy will yet to keep his poore people at a p^radventure and y^t in this case wherein our all is concerned and there is none to tell us how long, yet is it o^r duty to wayte on him who hideth his face from the house of Israel, and to say wth y^e Ch: I will brave y^e indignation of God untill he ple(ad)e our case, &c. Commending you & yours, & y^e low estate of his people to y^e shepardly Care of him who hath made it one p^t of his great name, Mighty to Save; wee take leave and remayne,
Y^{or} assured freinds, E R S

Past y^e Council.

Boston 4th of Sept. (should be Oct.) 1675

"S^r

"Wee have ordered L^t Upham to lead up to you 30 men and do further order that L^t Scill be dismissed home to his family, and his souldjers to make up some of y^e companies as y^e chiefe Comander shall order & y^e above named L^t Upham to be L^t under Capt Wayte. These for Major John Pynchon.

"S^r It is desired when the companies with you are filled up, such as are fitted to be dismiss be sent back with Left Sill & Corporal Poole & to send downe what horses you cann, and as may be conveniently spayred.

On assuming command on October 12th, Capt. Appleton writes a long letter, expressing his sense of the honor conferred and the great responsibility imposed by the appointment, and declaring that he is led to accept by the urgency of the occasion and his regard for the earnest wishes of Major Pynchon; and while deprecating his own incapacity, promises to do his best until they may find some abler officer for the position. He agrees with Maj. Pynchon in regard to present methods, and asks that the commissioners revise that part of their instructions which strictly prohibits fixing soldiers in garrisons. He adds his account of the condition of Springfield, and asks the Council to support him in the step he has taken in stationing Capt. Sill and his company there for the town's security. He complains of the prolonged absence of Maj. Treat and his company at Hartford. He says that "There being now come in sixty men under Capt. Poole and Lieft. Upham, and we needing commanders, especially part of our men being now at Springfield, & we not daring to send all thither, we have retained Capt. Poole to command these sixty men untill further orders be given."

October 17th he writes an account of their movements up to that date:

"On Tuesday Octo: 12. we left Springfield & came y^t night to Hadley neer 30 mile. On y^e 13th & 14th we used all diligence to make discovery of y^e enemy by Scouts, but by reason of y^e distance of the way from hence to Squakeage & y^e timorousnesse of y^e Scouts it turned to little account; thereupon I found it very difficult to know what to doe. Major Treat was gone from us, and when like to return we knew not. Our orders were to leave no men in garrison, but keepe all for a field armye, weh was to expose the Towns to manifest hazzard. To sitt still and do nothinge is to tire o's [ourselves] and spoyle o^r souldiers, and to ruin y^e country by

y^e insupportable burden and charge. All things layed together, I thought it best to goe forth after the enemy wth o^r p^resent forces. This once resolved, I sent forth warrants, on y^e 14th instant, early in the morning to Capt. Mosely & Capt. (as he is called) Seely at Hatfeild and Northampton, to repair fourthwth to y^e head-quarters, y^t we might be ready for service," &c.

Capt. Mosely came promptly, but Seely tardily and then without his company, pleading his want of commission from Connecticut authorities, but finally agreeing to return and bring his men. Before he started from Northampton, however, he received orders from Maj. Treat not to leave that town, and sends that word to Capt. Appleton. The Captain, much exercised by this seeming insubordination, posts away letters of complaint to the Connecticut Council, and urges the return of Maj. Treat, whom he highly commends as "a worthy Gentleman and discreete and encouraging Com^{ma}nder." After this he drew out his own men and marched towards Northfield, but before proceeding two miles intelligence came that the Indians were discovered in great numbers on the west side of the river. Therefore he crossed to Hatfield with the purpose of marching to Deerfield. Night came on as they left Hatfield, and after marching some miles his officers urged the exposed condition of the towns left without garrisons and the uncertainty of the enemy's movements, and the night promising to be tempestuous, he yielded his purpose and returned, against his inclination, to headquarters. On the evening of the 16th an urgent request for reinforcement comes from Northampton, which is threatened, and later, word from Capt. Mosely, that the Indians are discovered within a mile of Hatfield; and so at midnight he crosses the river to Hatfield, leaving only about twenty men to guard Hadley and their wounded men. In a postscript to this letter, added on the afternoon of the 17th, he says that after "a tedious night and morning's march" they had not succeeded in finding the enemy.

Several letters in this time passed between Capt. Appleton and the Council of Connecticut, which are full of interest as showing the varying aspects of affairs at the time. Connecticut urges that their own towns are threatened, and further that Plymouth colony has not sent its quota, and that there is no certain movement on foot that demands the presence of their troops at Hadley, &c. These letters are preserved in the Mass. Archives, vols. 67 and 68, and have been published in the "Appleton Memorial," and certain of them elsewhere.

It is unfortunate that no letters of Capt. Appleton relating to the attack upon Hatfield on October 19th are preserved. There can be no doubt that he wrote an official account of it; but the Massachusetts Council had not received the news on October 23d, for on that day they wrote Capt. Appleton in answer to his of the 17th, and make no reference to any attack. The next letter to him from the Council, so far as known, is dated November 1st, and refers to

one from him of the 29th October, which would seem to have been mainly taken up with a relation of the insubordination of the Connecticut officers. Doubtless several letters passed that are lost. The letters from a merchant of Boston to his friend in London, published in Drake's "Old Indian Chronicle," give information of the beginning of the attack. The Indians built large fires north of Hatfield, and then lay in ambush by the way leading thither. Ten horsemen were sent out as scouts about noon, of whom nine were shot down or captured by the Indians in ambush, and one escaped back to Hatfield, and immediately the enemy came with fury about the town. But, says Mr. Hubbard,

"According to the Good Providence of Almighty God, Major Treat was newly returned to North-Hampton, Capt. Mosely and Capt. Poole were then garrisoning the said Hatfield, and Capt. Appleton for the like end quartering at Hadley, when on a sudden 7 or 800 of the enemy came upon the town in all quarters, having first taken or killed two or three of the scouts belonging to the town and seven more belonging to Capt. Mosely's company, but they were so well entertained on all hands where they attempted to break in upon the town that they found it too hot for them, Major Appleton with great courage defending one end of the town, and Capt. Mosely as stoutly maintaining the middle, and Capt. Poole the other end; that they were by the resolution of the English instantly beaten off without doing much harm. Capt. Appleton's serjeant was mortally wounded just by his side, another bullet passing through his own hair, by that whisper telling him that death was very near but doing him no other harm."

Night came on, and in the darkness it was impossible to tell the losses of the enemy; numbers were seen to fall, some ran through a small river, others cast away their guns, and as usual they carried away their dead. Of the English slain at Hatfield, Mr. Russell's list has the names of ten, viz.: Freegrace Norton (Appleton's serjeant), of Ipswich, mortally wounded, and died at Hadley soon after; and of the scouts, Thomas Meekins, Jr., of Hatfield; Nathaniel Collins his servant, Richard Stone, Samuel Clarke of Mosely's company, John Pocock of Captain Poole's, Thomas Warner, Abram Quiddington, perhaps of Boston, William Olverton (possibly Overton), John Petts. Three of these are said to have been taken alive, of whom two were redeemed by some gentlemen at Albany, and arrived at New York the next February; one of these belonged in Boston. The third man was barbarously killed by the Indians.

In their letter of November 1st the Massachusetts Council assure Capt. Appleton of speedy action in regard to his affairs at the seat of war. They sustain him in his authority and position towards Connecticut troops, and advise him that in case Major Treat again withdraws, to improve his own troops as best he may, and await their further advice. They rebuke him for assuming to appoint Cornet Poole captain without their authority, and instruct him that

it is his place to recommend any officer for promotion to the Council to receive his commission at their behest.

On November 10th Capt. Appleton had not received any further advices from the Council and writes them for orders, and gives explanation of his action in regard to appointing Poole, that he acted from necessity, and as is evident very wisely. He then details his motions since October 29th, when two men and a boy at Northampton were attacked. (These were Joseph Baker, Joseph Baker, Jr., and Thomas Salmon, and Mr. Russell puts with them John Roberts, a wounded soldier who died there soon after.) On the 30th, at night, upon an alarm from Hatfield, Capt. Appleton was called out of his bed and pushed his troops across the river, where he remained over the next day, Sunday. On Monday he marched ten or twelve miles out through the "Chestnutt Mountains," scouting, without avail. Tuesday he consulted with Major Treat, and agreed to march on Wednesday night with their whole force towards Deerfield, which they did without finding the enemy, and returned late at night. On the 5th an alarm at Northampton, and another fruitless search. Upon a request of Major Treat on the 6th for permission to withdraw his soldiers from Westfield to seek the enemy down the river, a council of war was appointed for Monday the 8th, at which meeting Capt. Appleton took the ground that he had no authority from the commissioners to grant them leave to withdraw. Major Treat took a very frank and manly position, by no means hostile to Capt. Appleton. The trouble seems to have been the unwillingness of the Connecticut soldiers to remain in garrison at Westfield. The report of the council-of-war is submitted to the Massachusetts Council for the orders of the commissioners. He says they are at loss to find out the present location or intention of the enemy, but fear they may be upon them in force at any moment. He suggests that if the army be drawn off for the winter and the towns garrisoned, Connecticut troops might more conveniently be placed and supplied at Westfield and Northampton, and the other three towns garrisoned with Massachusetts men. He reports a council-at-war, at which David Bennet, chirurgion, was expelled from the army for "quarrelsome and rebellious Carriage," and submits the action for ratification to the Council. He sends down as posts, Serg. James Johnson, Serg. John Throp, and Nathaniel Warner of Hadley, and with them Capt. Poole, to whom he refers them for a more detailed account of matters.

While awaiting the long delayed instructions of the Council, Capt. Appleton stood in a very difficult position, the Connecticut officers and soldiers in great impatience and almost open mutiny at being kept in garrison; and the people, crowded into the garrison-houses in fear that Philip's whole force might at any hour fall upon them, were threatening to abandon their towns. The Council of Connecticut, too, were apparently interfering with his command of

their troops. On the other hand were the authority and orders of the United Commissioners, to which he adhered with inflexible energy. On November 12th he issued a proclamation (Archives, vol. 68, p. 54) to the inhabitants and soldiers of all those towns under his charge, forbidding any one to withdraw from his appointed place without special permission "given under his hand;" giving his reasons for the step, and asserting the authority of the commissioners. The Connecticut people were very loud in their complaints against this measure, but he rigidly held to it, daily expecting the further directions promised by the Council of Massachusetts, till finally despairing of such relief he reluctantly yielded to the importunities of Connecticut, and on November 19th dismissed Major Treat and his forces at Westfield to march downward to the Connecticut towns, accompanying the order of permission with an urgent request to the Council there that Westfield and Springfield may be regarrisoned by their forces. On the same day he writes to Governor Leverett, complaining of the long neglect of the Council at home, and saying that it has kept him in constant and tedious expectation until obliged to yield to Connecticut's demands, and now necessity forces him to dispose of his forces as best he may. He complains of the condition of the horses; many will soon be unfit for service, and if put upon "dry meate" (i. e. hay), the cattle of the people must perish during the winter, as hay is very scarce. They have no certain intelligence of the enemy, but have received word from Owennequo, son of Uncas, that Philip boasts himself to be a thousand strong. He speaks of his proclamation and its results, and encloses a copy of the same and his correspondence with Connecticut Council also, and urges the Governor to send him further directions speedily. He then proceeds to garrison the several towns with the forces at his disposal, the details of which will be given in a special chapter. The following orders of disposal are dated November 19 and 20, and are preserved in full in the Mass. Archives, vol. 68, pp. 65 and 66.

Twenty-nine soldiers taken out of the companies of Capts. Mosely and Poole and Lieut. Upham, are left at Westfield in charge of Serg. Lamb, and all under the command of Capt. Aaron Cooke. John Roote is appointed commissary of this garrison, and orders are drawn upon James Richards, of Hartford, or Mr. Blackleach, for whatever of clothing is necessary. Thirty-nine men from Capt. Sill's company are left at Springfield with Lieut. Niles, all to be under command of Major Pynchon. Twenty-six men are left with Serg. — at Northampton, to be under command of Lieut. Clarke; and thirty men under command of Capt. Poole are stationed at Hadley. Thirty-six are left at Hatfield with Serg. Graves, under command of Lieut. Allice.

Capt. Appleton appointed a council-of-war for the ordering of military matters in the towns, consisting of the commissioned officers

of the various garrisons, together with Dea. Peter Tilton, of Hadley, and Serg. Isaac Graves, of Hatfield, and Capt. Poole was made president. These arrangements seem to have been made in anticipation of the order of withdrawal of the army, which was authorized by the Council on November 16th.—Mass. Archives, vol. 68, p. 58. Their letter had not reached him on November 19th. This letter gives a long account of the operations of Capts. Henchman and Syll now in the Nipmuck country. Then "touching the disposal of the Army," the direction is left at his discretion, and as to the wounded men, those fit for garrison duty are to be left as a part of the garrison soldiery and the rest to be comfortably provided for. The special instructions seem to have been in accordance with the Major's own suggestions in his last letter to the Council. On the march home it is suggested that he come by way of "Wabquisit" (now in Woodstock, Conn.), and if convenient, to form a junction with Henchman and Syll and "distress the enemy" gathered near there. This little plan, so easy to conceive in the Council Chamber, for excellent reasons was never realized. Capt. Appleton, with his forces, marched homeward probably about November 24th. Very little is known of the march homeward. This campaign cost the colony very dearly in men and means, but had saved from destruction five of the seven western towns.

Upon the organization of the army for the expedition against the Narraganset Fort, Major Appleton was appointed to the command of the Massachusetts forces. A partial account of that expedition and its result has been given in a previous chapter relating to Capt. Mosely. On December 9th the Massachusetts forces, consisting of six companies of foot under Capts. Mosely, Gardiner, Davenport, Oliver and Johnson, and a troop of horse under Capt. Prentice, mustered on Dedham Plain under command of Major Appleton, who himself led the first company. They were joined by the Plymouth forces, two companies under Major William Bradford and Capt. John Gorham. The quota of Plymouth Colony was one hundred and fifty-eight men. That of Massachusetts five hundred and twenty-seven.

In the Mass. Archives, vol. 68, p. 91, I find this fragment relative to Major Appleton's division.

"The full complement of the Massachusetts is 527, 13 under the impressed men, so that if there should want 13 troopers and be but 62 troopers besides their officers there would be but 465 foote & if less than 62 troopers they must be suplyed with so many foote soldjers."¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ These seem to be fragments of memoranda, the latter list being on the back of the paper. This refers to the number in the six companies, and gives an excess of 99 over the estimated quota of 465 foot. I doubt that this excess includes Capt. Prentice's troopers as might at first appear, his company not being set down; but his lists and credits published, *ante*, pp. 39-41, give few if any of the names included in Appleton's, Mosely's or Johnson's lists, which were taken at Dedham, December 9th, and contain exactly the numbers above. It is probable that the excess consisted of volunteers, the regular quota being impressed men. In this expedition Capt. Mosely took Capt. Hubbard's place, and his company was not made up wholly of volunteers.

Troopers—Boston	15	foote	Major Appleton	136	
Prentice	20		Capt. Johnson	75	
Hasey	20		Capt. Ollivers	83	
Corwine	10		Capt. Davenport	75	
Appleton	10		Capt. Gardiner	95	
	—		Capt. Mosely	92	
	75	465			
		540		556	465
					099

Mr. Hubbard says that the force from the latter colony mustered there four hundred and sixty-five "fighting men besides a Troop of Horse" under Capt. Prentice. Gov. Josiah Winslow, of Plymouth, was commander-in-chief of the army in this expedition, and with this force marched to Woodcock's Garrison (Attleboro') that day, thence to Seaconck, where they arrived on the night of the 11th, and on the 12th passed over Patuxet River, and by way of Providence arrived at Wickford, at Smith's Garrison, at night. After several days spent in scouting and skirmishing, as previously related, on the 18th they all marched out to Pettysquamscot and met the Connecticut forces, consisting of five companies, three hundred and twenty-five men, under Maj. Treat, and the whole army were forced to bivouac in the open air in a driving snowstorm during the night, Bull's Garrison-house at that place having been burned by the Indians but a few days before. At daybreak next morning they took up their march over the rough country through the deepening snow, each man carrying his own arms, rations, &c. In the line, the Massachusetts division led; Plymouth held the centre and Connecticut the rear. This army, the largest and best organized that had ever been in the field in the American colonies, arrived about 1 o'clock, P.M., at the borders of the great swamp where the Indians had gathered in great numbers and had built a strong fortification and now awaited the attack. The full account of the battle must be reserved for another chapter, wherein the names of those in the remaining companies of Major Appleton's division are given. The conduct of the Major and his men here, as elsewhere, was creditable. In May, 1676, the Court voted to repay the losses of divers persons who were "damnified" by the burning of Major Appleton's tent at Narraganset.

Credited under Capt. Samuel Appleton.

December 10. 1675			
Thomas Davis	04 18 06	Stephen Gullifer	02 10 06
John Ford	03 10 00	Thomas Hastings	02 14 00
Israel Thorn	03 18 00	Roger Vicar	02 10 06
Thomas Waite	03 18 00	Stephen Butler	03 18 00
Francis Young, <i>Corp</i> ^l	04 11 00	Robert Sibly	02 10 06
Ezekiel Woodward	05 17 00	William Knowlton	04 16 10
Samuel Rust	04 00 00	Thomas Brown	02 10 06
Sylvester Hayes	05 03 00	Thomas Ferman	04 16 10
		Isaac Ilsley	02 10 06

Samuel Brabrook	02 10 06	Elias Tatingham	03 18 00
Arthur Neale	02 10 06	Eleazer Flagg	02 10 06
John Boynton	04 16 10	Samuel Pepar	02 10 06
Israel Henerick	03 18 00	Seth Story	04 16 00
Robert Simson	03 18 00	Nathaniel Wood	02 10 06
Samuel Very	03 18 00	Joseph Mansfield	03 18 00
Philip Matoone	02 10 06	Benjamin Chadwell	02 10 06
Philemon Deau	05 17 00	John Pikeriug, <i>Lt</i>	04 05 10
Gershom Browne	03 18 00	John Newell	03 18 00
Andrew Heding	02 10 06	Richard Sutton, <i>Corp</i> ¹	05 12 00
Robert Downes	03 18 00	John Rily	02 10 06
Robert Pease	03 18 00	Michael DeReeke	04 16 10
Thomas Tenney	03 18 00	Jeremiah Swaine, <i>Lt</i>	09 15 00
Thomas Hazen	03 18 00	Benjamin Langdon	02 10 06
William Webb	02 10 06	Richard Bryar	03 18 00
Solomon Watts	02 10 06	William Stanly	03 16 02
Nathaniel Masters	04 16 10	Joseph Richardson	03 18 00
Isaac Ellery	02 10 06	Henry Bedwell	04 16 10
Daniel Ringe, <i>Corp</i> ¹	04 11 00	John Tappin	04 16 10
John Pengilly, <i>Corp</i> ¹	02 19 00	Caleb Richardson	04 16 10
Stephen Greenleaf	08 16 10	Edward Ardway	04 16 10
Richard Hancock	03 18 00	Thomas Parlor	03 18 00
John Whicher, <i>Serg</i> ^t	05 17 00	Daniel Hawes	02 10 06
William Williams	03 18 00	Robert Dutch	04 16 10
Joseph Blancher	02 14 10	Samuel Ingolls	03 18 00
George Stedman	02 10 06	Jouathan Copp	02 10 06
Thomas Sparke	03 18 00	William Bateman	04 16 00
John Raymond	03 18 00	Stephen Greenleaf	00 16 00
Samuel Foster	03 18 00	January 25, 1675-6	
Henry Cooke	03 18 00	William Hlawkins, <i>Dr.</i>	04 08 06
Samuel Hebard	03 18 00	John Warner	01 16 00
John Davis	03 18 00	Ralph Powell	01 12 06
Samuel Ierson	03 18 00	Jonathan Copp	01 04 00
Joseph Eaton	02 10 06	March 24, 1675-6	
James Brearly	04 16 00	Thomas Kylam	02 15 06
Abial Sadler	03 18 00	Samuel Peirce	02 15 08
William Wainwright	03 18 00	Edward Ardway	02 15 08
Benjamin Webster	04 16 10	John Thomas	02 15 08
John Warner	02 10 06	Samuel Foster	02 14 00
Ephraim Cutter	03 04 06	John Harry	03 00 00
Thomas Abbey	03 18 00	Edmond Brown	03 05 08
John Dennis	04 18 06	Samuel Tiler	03 07 08
Josiah Bridg	07 16 00	Lewis Zacharius	02 15 08
Roger Markes	02 10 06	Philemon Dane	05 11 04
Timothy Breed	03 18 00	William Hodgkin	02 15 08
Thomas Chase	03 18 00	John Perkins	03 05 00
John Parker	01 10 00	Thomas Palmer	02 14 00
John Wheeler	09 12 00	Joseph Bigsby	02 14 00
John Conant	04 16 10	Robert Downes	02 15 08
Edmond Sheffield	04 16 00	John Layton	02 14 00
John Robins	03 18 00	John Stickney	02 14 00
Anthony Williams	03 18 00	Thomas Hazou	02 14 00
John Gamidg	04 16 10	Simon Gawin	02 02 00

Ephraim Cutter	02 14 00	Henry Poore	02 15 08
William Brown	02 14 00	John Raymant	02 16 06
Thomas Waite	02 14 00	Isaac Ashby	02 16 06
William Russell	02 14 00	James Spike	00 18 00
William Sawyer	02 15 08	Samuel Poore	02 16 06
April 24, 1676		John Cutler, <i>Chirurgion</i>	10 00 00
Francis Young	04 05 02	Robert Simson	04 04 00
Samuel Browne	} 02 14 00	Robert Leech	03 18 00
Gershom Browne		John Lovell	02 15 08
Solomon Watts	02 02 00	Abiell Sadler	02 15 08
Stephen Gullipher	03 03 00	Philip Matoon	02 15 08
Manasseh Kempthorne	03 08 06	Thomas Sparkes	02 14 00
Thomas Abby	05 02 00	Jacob Willer, <i>Chirurgion</i>	15 00 00
June 24 th , 1676.		Samuel Appleton, <i>Major</i>	30 00 00
John Thorp	08 18 00	July 24 th 1676	
Joseph Eaton	02 14 00	Richard Godfrey	04 16 00
John Mors, Commisary	07 10 00	Morgon Jones	02 14 00
John Dodge	01 10 00	Joshuah Boynton	02 14 00
Edward Neland	02 00 00	Nicholas Rawlins	02 15 08
Edward Marston	01 04 00	August 24 th 1676	
Ambros Daves	03 06 06	Zacheus Newmarch	02 14 00
Jonathan Emery	02 14 00	Richard Way	06 15 00
Jonathan Copp	04 19 06	Benjamin Newman	02 08 10
Thomas Davis	02 14 00	Abraham Fitch	02 14 00
Simon Adams	02 14 00	Samuel Perkins	02 15 08
William Knowlton	02 16 06	Richard Prior	02 15 08
Thomas Rogers	02 15 08	David Bennett	13 00 00
Jonathan Emery	01 00 00	John Lovitt	01 04 00
Christopher Keniston	04 10 00	Israel Blake	01 04 00
Thomas Dow	02 14 00	Abraham Drake	01 04 00
Eleazer Flagg	02 14 00	Morris Hobbs	01 04 00
John Davis	02 14 00	Francis Jennings	01 04 00
George Stedman	02 14 00	John Sleeper	01 04 00
Thomas French	02 15 08	Israel Clifford	01 04 00
James Butterick	02 14 00	Micael Towsely	01 04 00
Seth Story	03 06 00	William Samborn	01 04 00
Elijah Tottingham	01 15 02	Thomas Roby	01 04 00
John Pengilly	04 04 09	John Browne	01 04 00

Mass. Archives, vol. 68, p. 104.

A List of Major Sam^l Apletons Souldjers y^t were slayne & wounded
The 19th Decemb '75 at the Indian's fort at Narraganset

Samuell Taylor of Ipswich	} 4 men Slayne
Isaac Illery of Gloucester	
Daniel Rolfe of Newbery	
Samuel Taylor of Rowley ¹⁰¹	

¹⁰¹ In the list of killed appear two Samuel Taylors. In the credits is found Samuel Tiler. In a list of men impressed at Rowley, Nov. 29, 1675, I find Samuel Tiller. Among the wounded, Timson undoubtedly meant Stimpson, and "Ilja Thathan of Osborne," was what the clerk made out of Elijah Tattingham of Woburn. The name appears elsewhere as Totenham and Totman. The other changes are simple.

Left. Jerimyah Swayne of Redding
 Roger Markes of Andover
 Isaac Ilsley of Newbery
 W^m Standley of Newbery
 Dani. Somersby of Newbery
 Jonathan Emery of Newbery
 Ju^o Demmison of Ipswich
 Ju^o Harvey of Newbery
 George Timson of Ipswich
 Tho: Dowe of Ipswich
 Symon Gowen of Rowley
 Benj. Webster of Salem
 Ellja Thathan of Osborne
 Tho: Abey of Wenham
 Benj. Langdon of Boston
 Solomon Watts of Roxbury
 Ju^o Warner of Charlestowne
 Samuelli Boutericke of Cambridge

eighteen men wounded who
 are at Road Island except y^e
 Left. & Roger Marks

January 6 75

The following paper, preserved in the Mass. Archives, vol. 68, p. 97, is the roll of Maj. Appleton's company in the Narraganset campaign. Jeremiaah Swain of Reading was Lieutenant.

Serg't Ezek Woodward	Nath Wood	Those yt are wanting	Joseph Jewett
Serg't John Whitcher	Robert Sibbly	John Ford	Joshua Boyenton
Serg't Francis Young	Will. Webb	Thomas Parlor	John Leyton
Serg't Daniel Ringe	Joseph Eaton	John Davis	John Jackson
Corp John Pengillie	Roger Vicar	Robert Peas	Will Brown
Corp James Brarly	Arthur Neale		Caleb Jackson
Clarke Phillimon Dean	Isaac Ellirie		Sam. Tyler
Trump't John Wheeler	Ben Chadwell	The men yt are now listed	Thomas Palmor
Trump't Josiah Bridges	John Davis	Mosses Peugrie	Joseph Bigsby
Thomas Wayte	Samuel Brabrooke	John Denison	Simond Gowin
Thomas Sparkes	Isack Ilsley	John Perkins	Daniell Somersby
Abiell Saddler	Roger Markes	Abraham Knowlton	Samuelli Lovewell
Gershom Browne	Ben Leingdon	Thomas flossey*	Steven Sweet
Israel Henricks	John Reylie	Lewis Zachariah	Izrah Roff
Thomas Tennie	Steven Gullever	John Lovwell	Sam. Poore
Thomas Hazon	Daniell Hall	Sam. Peirce	Henry Poore
Robert Downes	Solomon Watts	George Stinson	Christopher Bartlet
Richard Briar	Elizeer Flagg	Thomas Dow	Edmond Browne
Joseph Richardson	John Warner	Thomas ffrnsh	Jonathan Emerie
Thomas Chase	Thomas Firman	Sam. Hunt	Christopher Kenniston
William Williams	Will Knowlton	John Thomas	Christopher Cole
Thomas Abbey	Nath Masters	Abraham Fitts	John Straton
John Rayment	Michale Derrick	Richard Bedford	John Harvey
Robert Leach	Thomas Davis	Thomas Killam	George Maier
Samuelli Hebbert	Caleb Richardson	Isaack Cummins	Nicolaz Rollings
Anthonie Williams	John Boyenion	Richard Partsmore	Thomas Rogers
Steven Buttlar	Seth Story	Richard Priar	Cornelius Davis
Samuell Verry	Ben Webster	Ben Newman	Jonathan Clarke
William Waynwright	Edward Ardaway	Will Hod-kins	Will'm Sayward
Samuell Foster	Samuel Raste	Sam Taylor	William Warrin
Henry Cooke*	Silvester Haz	Amos Goddin	John Shepard
Robert Simson	Will Russel	Samuel Perkins	John Guyle
Israel Thorne	Sam. Peirce	Peter Emuons	Morgain Joanes
Samuell Ierson	Sam. Buttrick	Nath Emerson	
John Newhale	Ephraim Cutter	Symond Adams	61 new men
Timothie Breed	George Stedman	Zacheus Newmarsh	75 old souldjers
Samuel Pipin	Edmund Sheffeld	John Hobkins	126
Phillip Mattoone	Roger Joans, 75	John Sticknie	

Soon after the battle of Narraganset Major Appleton retired from his protracted and arduous service in the field.¹⁰² He was reelected

* Are scratched out in the MS. flossey appears elsewhere as Fausee, Pipin as Pepar, Guyle as Guild. Some twenty-five on this list do not appear in Hall's credits under Major Appleton, but I have found nearly all mentioned elsewhere.

¹⁰² On the 19th of October, 1676, the Court appointed him to command an expedition to Pascataqua; but he probably declined, as the order was rescinded on October 23d.

deputy in 1676, and subsequently, except 1678, until 1681, when he was chosen Assistant, and remained in that office till the coming in of the Andros government in 1686. He was proscribed by Sir Edmund's officer, Randolph, as one of the "factionous." He was arrested on the general complaint of being "evil disposed and seditious," October 19th, 1687, and refusing to submit and give bonds for his good behavior, was committed to Boston jail, where he was kept many months till his age and increasing infirmities forced a reluctant submission, and he was set at liberty, March 7, 1688. In the new charter of William and Mary in 1691, he was made one of the Council. He died May 15, 1696, leaving an honored name which his posterity have continued in honor to the present day.

No. IX.

CAPT. ISAAC JOHNSON AND HIS MEN.

ISAAC JOHNSON was the son of John, of Roxbury. He was born in England and came to Massachusetts with his father's family probably in the company with Gov. Winthrop. He was admitted freeman March 4, 1635.

He was of the Artillery Company in 1645, and was its captain in 1667. He was ensign of the "Rocksberry" military company previous to 1653, and on June 13th of that year was elected captain. (See petition of dissent, Mass. Archives, vol. 67, page 45, overruled by the Court.) He was representative 1671.

He married Elizabeth Porter, of Roxbury, January 20, 1637, and had six or more children, of whom the sons were John, died 1661, Isaac and Nathaniel.

On the 6th of July, 1675, while the forces under Maj. Savage were at Mount Hope, Capt. Johnson was sent with a small escort to conduct the fifty-two friendly Indians, raised by Maj. Gookin, to the army. From the fragment of a letter from Capt. Johnson to the Court, dated at Boston, July 10, 1675, we learn that a company of these Indians was sent back from Mount Hope with him, and that some trouble occurred with one of the oldest, called Tom, at Woodcock's Garrison, where they were resting on the march. This is the letter as it remains. I am not sure that this is not the whole of the letter or statement :

Upon the 4th day of this last week being at Woodcockes house and the English and the indians geting some refreshment and fixing their arms there was one from the oldest of them indians that was sent backe with us from the Army and withdrew himselfe from our Company under the pretence of geting a helve for his hachet but staying long we sent out 6 men to see if they could find him in their search they found his hachet and a new knife: of his and returned without him we being desirous if it might be to find what had becom of him sent againe 6 men they could not yet find him, we went to super (that is we seaven English) before it was quite darke and while we were at super the said Tom did make aproach towards the other indians and was deserned by them and som of them called to him (sum say it was one or more of the indian Sentinells called to him) and bid him stand but he would not but fled away upon the which there being sum stire or commosion amongst the indians we rose from super and went

out they telling us what was the caus of the tumult amongst them; there was an indian seen as before and now was run away telling of us which way he went I bad them follow and se if they could catch him and Woodcock sent out his doggs also they did soone take him and one of the Indians laying hold of him this indian did strike him on the side of the necke with a hatchet which he had borrowed to get a helve for his owne; but the indian that was strooke by sum indians preventing the force of the blow the hurt was small which otherwise might have beene mortall for any thing we know; we English making all the hast to them we could did rescue the man that is that tom out of the rest of the indians hands as wee did apprehend caus lest he should have beene pulled in peeces or killed by them; we had him in to Woodcocks hous; I asked him the reson of his doing after that maner as he did doing as though he intended mischeefe where as he had promised the govenor of the bay he would doe faithfull service against phillip and his men; he answered he was counseled to doe as he did by Samson and another long Island indian they two indians were called and I asking of them if they did give Tom counsell to doe us hurt or to make trouble amongst us Samson first spake dening to have given Tom any such counsell; then the long Island indian spook denieing any such thing: upon which said Tom laid two peeces of mony in my hand and told me they each of them gave him one of them peeces to hire him to do what he did: they bothe denied the giving of him any mony; woodcoke being by desired he might se the mony I gave it him; he says Tom had that mony of him he having soe much lickors of him as cam to 3^d he changed a shilling for the said Tom & gave him a 6^d & a 3^d and that was the 6^d & 3^d which Tom did not denie. I told Tom he pretending soe as he had done to the governor as before and marching with us now part of two dayes and serve us thus he did acknowledg he had rebelld & deserved to dye only desired he might die a quick . . . death by which I doe suppose his meaning was that he might not be delivered into the hands of the Indians

boston 18th July 1675

your honnor^s Servant

Isaac

Johnson

Mass. Archives, vol. 67, p. 219.

On July 15th, on the news of the attack upon Mendon, Capt. Johnson was sent out with a company to relieve that town, and was joined there by Capt. Prentice and his troop about July 21st. The two captains address letters to the Court July 23d, explaining the situation of affairs at Mendon; these letters are lost, but notice of them occurs, Mass. Arch. vol. 67, p. 226, in a Court Order of July 26th, commanding the return of both companies, except a guard to be left at Mendon by Capt. Johnson. See *ante*, p. 39.

Upon the mustering of forces for the Narraganset campaign, Capt. Johnson was placed in command of a company made up of men from Roxbury, Dorchester, Milton, Braintree, Weymouth, Hingham and Hull, seventy-five all told. Eight more were impressed but did not appear. The company took part in the memorable march and attack on the fort, as before related, and the brave captain was among the first to fall while gallantly leading his men across the fatal tree-bridge at the entrance to the fort.

Credited under Capt. Isaac Johnson.

August 27 1675		Sept. 14 th	
Benjamin Wilson	00 12 00	John Whaley	02 09 00
John Gates	00 12 00	Thomas Wadduck	00 11 00
John Barnes	00 12 00	Nov. 30 th	
William Gemmison (alias Jamison)	00 12 00	John Ireson	00 11 00
Thomas Hunt	00 12 00	William Jaques	00 11 00
Experience Orris	01 12 00	Jan'y 25 th 1675-6	
Richard Cowell	00 12 00	Nathaniel Beale	00 17 00
James Couch	00 12 00	February 29	
David Landon	00 11 02	John Langley	01 00 00
John Rugles	00 12 00	William Hasey	02 14 00
Sept. 3 ^d		Samuel Lincolne	04 01 00
Ephraim Child	00 12 00	Joshuah Lazell	02 14 00
George Walden	00 12 00	March 24 th 1675	
Nath ^r Toy	00 12 00	Joseph Richards	02 16 00
		Allin Dugland	00 11 02
		Thomas Thaxter	02 16 00
		John Burrell	02 14 00

" Under Capt Johnson and Capt Jacob " ¹⁰³

March 24 th 1675		Isaac Prince	02 14 20
Francis Gardnett	02 14 00	George Vicary	02 09 00
Ephraim Lane	02 14 00	John Bosworth	02 14 00
James Read	02 14 00	Christopher Wheaton	02 08 00
William Mellowes	02 14 00	Joseph Benson	02 16 00
John Whitmarsh	02 14 00	Isaac Morris	02 14 00
John Read	02 14 00	April 24, 1676	
James Humphryes	02 14 00	John Fenner	00 15 04
John Lovell	03 00 00	William Davenport	02 14 00
Isaac Cole	02 14 00		

Under Capt Johnson, June 24th

John Scott	02 14 00	Hezekiah King	02 19 00
Benjamin Bates	05 02 00	Henry Bowen <i>Lieut.</i>	06 03 00
Samuel Gardner	02 16 00	Ebenezer Hill	02 14 00
Joseph Goard	02 14 00	July 24	
Nathaniel Wilson	02 14 00	John Plum	02 14 00
Samuel Basse	02 14 00	Zachariah Gurny	02 14 00
Joseph Tucker	04 01 00	Charles Cahan	02 14 00
Ebenezer Owen	02 14 00	Onesiphorus Stanly	02 14 00
William Savell	03 12 00	John Spurr	02 14 00
Francis Nash	02 14 00	August 24	
Thomas Copelane	02 14 00	Henry Bartlett	02 14 00
Martin Sakins	02 14 00	Hopestill Humphries	02 14 00
Jonathan Pitcher	00 12 00	Thomas Grant	02 14 00
James Atkins	02 14 10	John Watson	00 18 00
Isaac Johnson <i>Capt.</i>	05 11 00	Sept 23 ^d	
William Lincolne	02 09 00	John Bull	00 18 00
John Watson	01 16 00	Thomas Davenport	00 10 02
John Langley	04 00 00		

¹⁰³ Capt. John Jacob of Hingham, of whom more hereafter.

The following list of Capt. Johnson's company, made at Dedham December 10th, 1675, is preserved in Massachusetts Archives, vol. 67, p. 293.

"List of Capt Johnson's Company"

<i>Roxbury,</i>	George Minot	Will Mellis
Henry Bowen	Isaack Ryall	John Hollis
John Watson	<i>Milton</i>	John Buril
W ^m Lincoln	John Fennow	<i>Hingham</i>
Abiel Lamb	Obadiah Wheaten	Benj. Bates
John Scot	Joseph Tucker	John Jacob
Onesiphorus Stanly	Benj. Craue	John Langley
Isaack Morrice	<i>Braintree</i>	Edward Wilder
W ^m Danforth	Ebenezer Owen	Tho: Thaxter
Joseph Goad	Sam. Basse	Ebenezer Lane
Sam ^l Gardiner	W ^m Sable	Sam: Lincoln
Nath: Wilson	Tho: Holbrook	Ephraim Lane.
John Hubbard	Rich Thayer	Joshuah Lazel
Tho: Baker	Martin Saunders	John Bull
wanting	Francis Nash	W ^m Hearsey
Thom: Cheney	Increase Niles	Francis Gardiner
John Corbin	Henry Bartlet	Nath Beales
John Newel	Tho: Copeland	Nath Nichols
<i>Dorchester</i>	James Atkins	Humphrey Johnson
Hen ^y Mare his man	Jonathan Pitcher	wanting
Hopestill Humphrey	<i>Weymouth</i>	W ^m Woodcock
John Spurre	Hezek: King	<i>Hull</i>
Ebenezer Hill	Jonas Humphrey	George Vicar
Nicholas Weymouth	Joseph Richards	John Bosworth
John Plummer	Allin Dugland	Joseph Benson
Charles Cahan	John Whitmarsh	W ^m Chamberlin
Tho: Grant	Peeter Gurnay	Christo: Wheaton
Tho: Davenport	Edward Kingman	Isaack Prince
Robert Stanton	John Read	Isaack Cole
wanting	James Read	Henry Chamberlin
Henry Withington	John Lovet	75 appeared
		8 appeared not

The following is preserved in the Mass. Archives, vol. 68, page 104 :

The names of those soldiers y^t were slayne & wounded of Capt Johnson's Comp^a December 1675

Capt Isa: Johnson of <i>Roxbury</i>	Tho: Davenport <i>Dr (Dorchester)</i>
Jonathan Pitcher Bran; (<i>Braintree</i>)	Allin Dugland of Weymouth
Jos ^o Watson of Roxbury	4 slain
W ^m Linckorn of Roxbury	Jn ^o faxton of Hingham
John Spur of Dorchester	Isaack King of Weymouth
Benj. Crane of Milton	Left. Phineas Upham of Malden
Jn ^o Langley of Hingham	wounded eight, and were at
	Road Island Jan. 6 th 1675-6

The credits of those who went to conduct the Indians to Mount Hope would probably be placed under "Posts and Guides." The credits above, up to January, I infer to be for the service at Mendon. Some of his soldiers were left in garrison there, and were credited accordingly, as will appear in the proper place.

NO. X.

CAPT. JOSEPH GARDINER AND HIS MEN.

JOSEPH GARDINER was the son of Thomas and Margaret Gardner of Salem. He married before August, 1656, Anne Downing, daughter of Emanuel Downing and niece of the first Gov. Winthrop.

He was a man of energy and ability, and held many positions of honor and importance in Salem. In May, 1672, he was appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts, lieutenant of the foot company under Capt. William Price of Salem (Mass. Colony Records, v. 517).

On May 12, 1675, the militia of Salem was divided into two companies by order of the Court, and by the same order the election of Joseph Gardiner as captain of the First Company in Salem was confirmed. When the expedition against Narraganset was organized, Capt. Gardiner was appointed, November 3, 1675, to command the company raised at Salem and the adjoining towns, and mustered his men, ninety-five strong, at Dedham Plain, December 10th, and marched with the army towards the rendezvous at Wickford. During the march several skirmishes took place, and Mr. Hubbard relates that some of Stone-wall-John's crew "met with some of Capt. Gardiner's men that were stragling about their own business contrary to order, and slew his Sergeant with one or two more." In "Capt. Oliver's Narrative" it is related that on this occasion the Indians "killed two Salem men within a mile of our quarters and wounded a third so that he is dead." The names of these are given in the list below. The fall of Capt. Gardiner is thus related in Church's "Entertaining History":

"Mr. Church spying Capt. Gardner of Salem amidst the Wigwams in the East end of the Fort, made towards him; but on a sudden while they were looking each other in the face, Capt. Gardner settled down, Mr. Church stepped to him, and seeing the blood run down his cheek lifted up his cap and calling him by name, he looked up in his face but spake not a word, being mortally Shot through the head."

After the death of Capt. Gardiner, the command of his company fell upon his lieutenant, William Hathorn, under whom the men

served during the campaign, until disbanded about February 7th to 10th. It is thus that the men were credited sometimes under Gardiner, sometimes Hathorn, occasionally both; the latter's name, signed to the voucher or "debenter" which each soldier presented to the paymaster, doubtless confused the clerks and caused this appearance of double command. Capt. Hathorn's subsequent career at the eastward will be given in its proper place.

His widow, then aged about thirty-four, married June 6, 1676, Gov. Simon Bradstreet, whose age was about seventy-three. She died April 19, 1713, aged 79. Leaving no children, Capt. Gardiner's Narraganset claim fell to the oldest male heir of his eldest brother Thomas. This heir was Habakkuk Gardiner, son of the Captain's nephew Thomas, who in the list of claimants claims in the "right of his uncle, Capt. Joseph Gardiner."

Capt. Joseph Gardiner and his men.

February 29 th 1675 & 6			Amos Gurdon	02 14 10
	£	s. d.	Peter Emons	02 14 10
William Hathorne, <i>Capt.</i>	11	09 08	William Webb	02 14 00
Samuel Gray	03	06 07	Robert Sibly	02 14 00
Peter Cary	02	14 00	Andrew Ringe	05 08 00
Jeremiah Neall	04	18 00	Benjamin Langdon	03 00 00
Peter Cole	02	14 00	James Briarly	04 01 00
Joseph Price	01	13 00	Benjamin Webster	02 14 00
Samuel Tarbox	03	09 03	Freegrace Norton	03 12 00
Sam. Beadle	04	01 00	Israel Thorne	02 14 00
Benjamin Hooper	02	14 00	Ezekiel Woodward	02 14 00
Rice Husband	02	14 00	John Wheeler	05 08 00
Marke Stacy	02	14 00	William Wainwright	02 14 00
William Hollis	02	18 00	John Boutell	00 18 00
John Clark	01	14 00	Jouathan Clark	02 14 00
Thomas Weymouth	02	14 00	William Williams	02 14 00
William Hutchins	02	07 00	Samuel Rust	04 01 00
Christopher Read	02	14 00	Benjamin Sweet, <i>Lieut.</i>	03 00 00
William Bassett	05	04 04	Henry Dow	01 16 00
Samuel Graves	02	14 00	Silvester Hayes	03 03 00
John Farrington	02	02 00	Thomas Tenney	02 14 00
William Driver	02	14 00	Joseph Jewett	02 14 00
Andrew Townsend	02	14 00	John Boynton	02 14 00
Jonathan Looke	02	14 00	Peter Coomes	03 08 00
Charles Knight	03	03 00	Jouathan Copp	01 04 00
John Prince	03	15 08	John Mann	02 04 00
Andrew Sargeant	02	19 02	March 24 th 1675-6	
Edward Haradine	02	19 02	John Vowden	02 14 00
John Trask	02	17 08	Lawrence Majore	02 14 00
Joseph Houlton	02	14 00	Thomas Flynt	02 16 00
Isaac Welman	02	14 00	Thomas Greene	02 14 00
William Pritchett	02	14 00	John Read	02 14 00
John Maston	02	14 00	Adam Gold	02 14 00
Benjamin Chadwell	02	14 00	Zacheus Perkins	02 14 00
Stephen Greenleaf	01	10 00	William Pabody	02 14 00

Joseph Gardiner, <i>Capt.</i>	05 03 00	Amos Gourdin	01 04 00
James Fry	02 14 00	Daniel Johnson	03 10 00
Leonard Toser	02 14 00	Jeremiah Neale, <i>Lieut.</i>	03 00 00
April 24 th 1676.		August 24 th 1676	
Thomas Kenny	02 14 00	Edward Counter	02 14 00
John Stacy	02 14 00	Ebenezer Barker	02 02 00
June 24 th 1676		Thomas Russell	02 14 00
Francis Jefford	02 14 00	Joseph Jeffords	01 09 00
Samuel Phelpes	02 14 00	Thomas Vely	02 05 00
John Presson	02 14 00	Eleazer Linsey	01 16 00
Joseph Abbott	02 14 00	Thomas Bell	04 05 08
Samuel Pickworth	00 11 06	Sept 23 ^d 1676	
Abraham Snitchell	01 01 00	Mark Bacheler	00 14 00
Michael Towsley	02 15 08	Robert Cocks	02 02 00
Thomas Kemball	02 14 00	Moses Morgaine	02 14 00
Thomas Blashfield	02 14 00	<i>Credited under Capt. Hathorne.</i>	
William Allen	02 14 00	Samuel Story	04 05 08
Edward Whittington	02 14 00	Peter Ashamaway	04 05 08
John Parker	02 14 00	Jacob Knight	01 10 00
Philip Butler	02 14 00	William Wainwright	04 16 06
James Wall	04 10 10	Samuel Moulton	01 04 00
John Ballard	02 14 00	James Creeke	04 04 00
July 24, 1676		James Cox	04 05 00
William Hathorne, <i>Capt.</i>	07 03 09		

A list of y^e names of Capt. Gardiner's Souldiers for this p'sent Expedition

Salem.

Serjeant Jeremiah Neall
 Serjeant William bassett
 Ser^t Samuel bradell
 Corp. Samucll Pikworth
 Charls Knight
 John boden
 William holess
 Marck Stace
 Samucll Gray
 Larance Magery
 John Polott
 Philip butteler
 Beniamen Lemon
 Edward Counter
 Lenard Tossier
 William Hind
 Joseph Price
 Th^o Flint
 Pelter Prescote
 Isack Read
 Tho. Buffingtog
 John Stacey
 Henery Rich
 Tho. Greene

James Wall
 Joseph Holton jun^r
 Tho. Reny
 Joseph Dees—wounded
 Abraham Switchell
 Samucll ffrail—not apearing
 ffrances Jefford
 Clem. Rumeall
 Adam Gold
 Samucll Tarbox

Marblehead.

Petter Coll
 Henry Codner
 Auguster fferker
 David Shapligh
 Petter Cary
 Robertt Cooks
 Edward Severy
 Ephraim Jones
 Lenerd Belinger
 Philip Brock
 Thomas Weymouth } These men
 Thomas Weymouth } wanting of
 Thomas Russell } their Comp'y

Topsfield.

William Peabody
Zacheus Curtis
Zacheus Perkins
Robertt Andrews
Isek burton

Andover.

Nathan Stevens
James Fry
Eben baker
John Parker
Joseph Abett
John balard
John Lovejoy
Edward Whittington
Samuell Philips
John P^rston

Gloster.

John Prince
Andrew Serjant
Joseph Somes
Vincesout Davis
Moses duday

Beverley.

Christopher Brown
John Trask

Thomas Blashfield
Lott Cunant
Christopher Read
William fferyman
Moses Morgine
John Clark
William Allen
William bath
Richard Hussband

Lyn.

Nicholas Huchin
John Linsey
Robert driver
Daniell Huchin
John Davis
Samuell Graves
Andrew townsend
Thomas baker
Johnathan Looke
Iseck Welman
Isaack Hartt
John Farington
Samul Rods
Mark Bacheler
Richard Hutten
Thomas Kemball
Philip Welsh
John Hunkens

Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 93.

A Lyst of Capt Joseph Gardiner Company y^t were wounded and Slayne
of his Company, some y^e 16 Dec^r & Other 10 dec 75

Joseph Rice of Salem
Samuel Pikeworth of Salem
M^rke Batchiler of Wenham

} wch. 3 were slayne . . .
abroad from y^e Garrison

Capt Joseph Gardiner of Salem
Abra. Switchell of Marblehead
Joseph Soames of Cape Anne
Robert Andrews of Topsfield

} 4 men Slayne more

Charles Knight of Salem
Nicholas Huchins of Lynn
Thomas flint of Salem
Jn^o Harrington of Lynne
Robert Cocks of Marblehead
Eben Baker of Andiver
Edw^d Mardin of Cape Ann
Joseph Read of Beverly
Joseph Abett of Andiver
Joseph Holeyton of Salem

} 10 men wounded

Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 104.

NO. XI.

CAPT. NATHANIEL DAVENPORT AND HIS MEN.

CAPT. Nathaniel Davenport was born in Salem, Mass., and was the son of Richard Davenport and his wife Elizabeth Hathorn. Richard came to Salem with Endicott in 1628, from Weymouth in Dorsetshire, was admitted freeman September 3, 1634, was ensign in the local militia same year, and in 1637 served as lieutenant in the Pequod expedition, where he was wounded. He was representative in 1637, and joined the Artillery Company in 1639. Removed to Boston in 1642 and was appointed captain of the Castle, which post he filled for many years, and was there killed by lightning on July 15, 1665. His children were Nathaniel; Truecross, born 1634-5; Experience, baptized August 27, 1637; John, baptized September 19, 1641, at Salem; and at Boston he had Samuel, baptized June 28, 1646; Sarah, September 30, 1649; Elizabeth, September 13, 1652; William, born May 11, 1656. The widow died June 28, 1678.

Nathaniel spent his boyhood and youth at Salem and at the Castle. He was evidently a man of enterprise and ability, and for some time was concerned with several Boston men in an extensive business between Boston and New York. He married Elizabeth Thacher, daughter of Thomas.

From his early surroundings at the Castle he naturally acquired experience of military matters, and his business pursuits gave him wide acquaintance with the affairs of the colonies in their commercial relations. In the difficulties with the Dutch at New York he was evidently a trusted agent of Massachusetts, his residence for some time in New York giving him great advantage. In volume II. "New York Colonial History" are found letters passing between Edward Rawson, Secretary of Massachusetts, and N. Bayard, Secretary of "New Netherlands," showing that in 1673 Mr. Nathaniel Davenport and Mr. Arthur Mason were sent by the Massachusetts Colony to demand the restoration of some vessels which had been seized by the N. N. government, and they threatened reprisal, &c., if the vessels were not given up. In a later letter of Bayard to Rawson in regard to this demand, he refers to Mr. Davenport as a "spy." His experience and prominence would thus seem to mark him as a leader in the war, but it is evident that his residence abroad had precluded his holding military office in the

colony, where the choice was made by the people of each town, and was made a matter of confirmation by the Court. Capt. Davenport had returned to Boston in 1673, and at the time of the fitting out of the Narraganset Expedition in December, 1675, was serving on the jury at the Court of Assistants, whence he was summoned to take command of the 5th Company in the Massachusetts Regiment. This company was made up chiefly of men from Cambridge and Watertown, to most of whom Captain Davenport was a stranger, but it is said (see Drake's "Old Indian Chronicle, page 181) that he, on the occasion of "taking possession of his company, made a very civil speech to them, and also gave them free Liberty to choose their own Serjeants themselves, which pleased them very well, and accordingly did so." The company joined the rest of the forces at Dedham plain, and marched to Narraganset with the army. In "Oliver's Narrative," one item concerning Capt. Davenport appears, mentioned with characteristic brevity. "Dec. 17th That Day we sold Capt. Davenport forty-seven Indians young and old, for Eighty Pounds in money." I have found nothing to solve the doubt as to whether it was the enterprise of the merchant or the humanity of the man that prompted the purchase. I find no mention of such sale on the treasurer's books. On December 19th, at the great Fort fight, Mr. Hubbard relates that "Capt. Mosely and Capt. Davenport led the van."

The death of Capt. Davenport is thus related in the "Old Indian Chronicle" above mentioned, p. 181 :

"Before our men came up to take possession of the Fort, the Indians had shot three Bullets through Capt Davenport, whereupon he bled extremely, and immediately called for his Lieutenant, Mr Edward Ting,¹⁰⁴ and committed the charge of the Company to him, and desired him to take

¹⁰⁴ Lieutenant Edward Ting (or Tyng) commanded the company during the rest of this campaign, and many of the credits are given under him as Captain. He was the son of Capt. Edward Tyng of Boston, and was born March 26th, 1649. He removed to Falmouth in 1681, and soon after married Elizabeth, daughter of Thaddeus Clark and gr. granddaughter of George Cleeves. He was in command of Fort Loyal 1680 and 1681; was a counsellor and magistrate for Maine under President Danforth, and in 1686 was appointed by the King one of the council of his brother-in-law Joseph Dudley and afterward under Andros, who made him lieutenant-colonel and placed him in command in the province of Sagadahoc in 1688 and 1689, and after the reduction of Nova Scotia was appointed governor of Annapolis, but on his way to that place his vessel was captured by the French, and he was taken to France where he died. He was a man of great energy and ability, and was a large land owner in Maine; but as he favored and served the Andros party he became very unpopular with the people. His son Edward had a son William, who in 1767 was appointed sheriff of Cumberland County, but becoming a staunch Tory he was obliged to fly from the wrath of his fellow-citizens to the British army at New York, where he remained till the close of the war, when he removed to Nova Scotia and was made chief justice; but in 1793 he returned to Maine, and as his own large estates in Portland had been confiscated, he settled upon his wife's estate in Gorham, where in elegant ease, with ample estate, he enjoyed the fruits of his toriyism and a pension which the British government after his death in 1807 continued to his widow, the stately and staunch royalist Madam Tyng, to her death in 1831. Col. Tyng was childless, and the last male descendant of Capt. Edward of the Narraganset fight. Mr. Isaac T. Hull, of Portland, Me., has shown me proof that Col. Tyng was welcomed back to Portland by the people, and allowed to buy in his confiscated estate for a small sum. He was helpful to American prisoners in New York while there.

The second lieutenant was John Drury, son of Hugh of Boston, born May 2, 1646.

care of his Gun, and deliver it according to Order and immediately died in his Place." "And it is very probable the Indians might think Capt Davenport was the General because he had a very good Buff Suit on at that Time and therefore might shoot at him."

After the death of Capt. Davenport, the settlement of his large business involved a vast amount of litigation. At first his widow assumed the administration under the direction doubtless of her father, Mr. Thomas Thacher; but finding the assets too small, many debtors worthless and creditors severe, she prays the Court to discharge her from the office, especially as she is "in election for marriage." It seems that this step was one of precaution to protect her husband about-to-be from being involved in the affairs of the late Captain, and evidently received satisfactory assurance, as she goes forward and marries Samuel Davis of Boston, upon whom very soon the creditors of the Captain descended, whereupon Elizabeth and her father file petitions for his relief. Their letters are preserved in the Massachusetts Archives, vol. 16, pages 126-8; and that of the father is a fine specimen of penmanship, while both are very interesting for the hints and facts they contain. The creditors have complained of her extravagance while administratrix, in general, and in several particulars, among which were the *funeral expenses*, extravagant, since the Captain's body was buried abroad (at Narraganset), and they charge her also with expensive "housekeeping." There are many other papers, bills and accounts in the Archives, vol. 119. Capt. Davenport left no children, and his nephew Ad-dington Davenport inherited his Narraganset claim.

Credited under Capt. Nath^l Davenport & Capt. Ting, February 29th 1675-6

22 75-Nathaniel Sanger	02 14 00	William Roberts	02 14 00	
75-Thomas Hall	02 14 00	John Baker	00 10 03	
John Cutler	02 14 00	<u>Joshua Bigalo</u>	02 14 00	Dec. 4, '75
Caleb Simons	02 02 00			
William Peirce	02 14 00	March 24 th 1675-6		Feb. 8, '76.
John Baldwin	00 10 03	Joseph Buss	03 03 00	Sup. 160.
Nathaniel Dampert Capt.	05 07 00	John Wheeler	02 14 00	Mastered
Theoder Atkins	00 15 00	Nathaniel Healy	02 02 00	out Feb.
Edward Ting Capt.	11 13 06	George Herington	02 14 00	5. See p.
133-Gershom Cutler	02 14 00	William Wade	02 14 00	33. New
Thomas [Nicho]ls	02 14 00	Thomas Rutter	02 14 00	week's acc.
Stephen Farr	02 14 00	John Haws	00 18 00	at 6 sh. a
Samuel Lamson	03 07 00	Samuel Swan	03 00 00	week =
John Shelden	04 13 00	John Drury Lt	04 05 10	2 sh. 14 s.
Moses Whitney	02 14 00	William Price	02 14 00	This includes
Jonathan Smith	02 14 00			The hanging
Joseph Smith	02 14 00	April 24 th 1676		march.
Daniel Warrin	03 03 00	John White	02 14 00	
Isaac Lerner	01 15 02	Timothy Rice	02 14 00	
Thomas Parker	00 18 00	James Smith	02 14 00	
John Polly	02 14 00	Jacob Bullard	02 14 00	
		Matthew Gibbs	02 14 00	

June 24 th 1675			
Joshuah Woods	02 14 00	Samuel How	02 12 02
Daniel Woodward	02 14 00	Thomas Brown	02-02 00
James Haughton	00 19 08	John Salter	02 14 00
Abraham Temple	02 02 00	Jacob Amsden	02 14 00
David Batchelor	01 18 06	Jeremiah Toy	02 14 00
Ambros Mackfasset	02 14 00	George Hayward	00 12 00
Jonathan Remington	10 18 08	Dennis Hedly	02 14 00
Peter Bateman	02 08 00	July 24 th 1675	
Samuel Dymon	02 14 00	Joseph Wheeler	02 09 00
John Taylor	02 14 00	John Baker	05 05 00
John Wood	02 14 00	John Parker	02 14 00
Zachariah Snow	02 02 00	James Mathewes	01 09 00
Isaac Emsden "als Ams-		August 24 th 1675	
den "	03 06 06	John Priest	03 10 00
William Gleson	02 14 00	Nicholas Lunn	02 12 00
		Jonathan Lawrence	02 14 00

The following is preserved in the Mass. Archives, vol. 68, p. 104.

The List of those y^t were slayne & wounded of Cap Nath^l Davenport—

Capt. Nath: Davenport	}	4 men Slayne
Sarg ^t Theod ^r Atkinson		
¹⁰⁵ George Howard of Concord		
Jn ^o Hagar of Watertown		
¹⁰⁵ Sam. Swayn of Cambridge	}	11 men wounded
Sam. Read of Cambridge		
Sam. Stocker of Meadford		
Nath Hely of Watertowne		
* Isaac Learned of Watertowne		
Tho. Browne of Concord		
Abra: Temple of Concord		
David Batchelor of Redding		
Caleb Symon ^s of Ooburne		
John Backer of Wooborne		
Zachary Snow of Wooborn		

*Joshua Bigelow not
wounded at the Fort -
at any rate not seri-
ously.*

The following lists of men impressed in several towns where Capt. Davenport's company was raised, will serve to identify many of the names. Of course, many of those impressed were either excused for disability or escaped from the service in some other manner. See Mass. Archives, vol. 68, p. 100, and for separate lists, pp. 67-100. The returns were dated from Nov. 25 to Dec. 3, 1675.

From Cambridge.			
Corp ^l Jonathan Remington		Jacob Emsden	
James Hubbard		Jonathan Laurenc	
Edward Winship junio ^r		John Emsden	
Isaack Emsden		John Salter	
Nathaniel Patten		Samuel Swan	
William Glesson		Daniel Woodward	
John Withe		Samuel Read	
		Gershom Cutter	15 Cutter? See p. 122.

¹⁰⁵ In the credits these appear as Hayward and Swan.

* Son-in-law of John Bigelow. He and Joshua (p. 122) were executors of John B's will, and received the largest part of his estate. Isaac apparently was murdered and before Joshua, probably because of his wounds. See his credit, p. 122.

From Watertown.

Daniell Warrin, S^r
 John Bigulah, S^r
 Nathaniell Hely
 Joseph Tayntor J^r
 John Whettney S^r
 George Herrington
 James Cutting
 William Hagar Jr
 John Parkhurst
 Michael Flegg
 Jacob Bullard
 Isaack Learned
 Joseph Waight
 George Dill
 Jonathan Smith
 Willyam Price Jr
 Nathaniell Sangar
 Moses Whettny
 Enoch Sawtell
 John Bright
 John Hastings
 John Bacon
 John Chadwick
 John Windam
 Ben Douse
 Nath Barsham
 John Barnard
 Ephraim Gearfield
 Joseph Smith 20

From Woburn.

John Carter
 William Johnson
 James Convars
 John Cutler
 William Peirce
 John Baker
 Zachariah Snow
 John Polly
 John Preist
 John Berbeane
 John Shilden
 Thomas Hale
 John Bolen
 Caleb Simons

Peter Bateman
 Jerimiah Hood 13

From Sudbury.

William Wade.
 Samuel Bush
 John White Jun^r
 Tho. Rutter
 Peter Hopes Jr
 James Smith
 Dennis Hedley
 Matthew Gibbs Jun^r
 Daniel Herrington 9

From Cambridge Village.

Samuell Hides Jr
 Peter Henchet
 Joshua Woods
 Jonathan Bush 4

From Reading.

Samuel Lamson
 David Bachelder
 James Carr
 Samuel Daman
 Seabred Taylor
 Thomas Nichols

William Robards
 Nicholas Lunn 8

From Meadford.

James Stokes
 Jeremiah Toy 2

From Concord.

Joseph Busse
 Abraham Temple
 Samuel How
 John Wood
 Joseph Wheeler
 Thomas Browne
 John Wheeler
 Timothy Rice
 George Hayward
 Stephen Farre
 John Taylor 11

Capt. Davenport's company numbered seventy-five men. See p. 106. Substitutes often appear instead of those impressed.* Fifty-seven in the above list, and three besides among the wounded and killed, are thus accounted for. Some of the rest received credit in a later Ledger.

* Joshua Bigelow for his father John, it seems.

NO. XII.

CAPT. JAMES OLIVER AND HIS MEN.

JAMES OLIVER was the son of Thomas and Ann, who came from England in the ship "William and Francis" (by another account the *Lion*) 9 March, 1632, with their family of six sons and two daughters. Bristol, Somersetshire, is said to have been the old home of the family. They settled in Boston, where the father became ruling elder and of wide influence in the affairs of the new town. He died June 1, 1658, aged ninety years, according to John Hull's Diary, leaving sons who held places of honor and trust in the colony, and whose posterity, in successive generations to the present, have held the name honorably.

James was admitted freeman 12 October, 1640. Was of the Artillery Company, and chosen Ensign 1651, Lieutenant 1653, Captain 1656 and again 1666. Was chosen selectman of the town in 1653 and served several years; was also an inspector of the port and a merchant of eminence. He was of the First Military Company of Boston, and was elected Captain probably in 1673. He was appointed to command a Boston company in the Narraganset campaign. His appointment was dated November 17, 1675, and men to fill this company were impressed from the several town companies, including his own, as is seen by the second list below. Taking command of his company, he joined the army at Dedham Plain and took part in the subsequent movements of the campaign, being one of the few fortunate officers who passed through the great swamp fight unscathed, and remained in command of his company until the return and dismissal at Boston February 5th, 1675-6.

While the army was at Narraganset, at the Garrison House of Mr. Richard Smith (their rendezvous after the great fight, now embraced in the town of Wickford, R. I.), Capt. Oliver wrote the fol-

lowing account¹⁰⁵ of the campaign, the original of which I have failed to find trace of, after diligent search and inquiry.

The letter, as published by Gov. Hutchinson, is as follows :

Narraganset 26th 11th month 1675

After a tedious march in a bitter cold night that followed Dec. 12th, we hoped our pilot would have led us to Pomham by break of day, but so it came to pass we were misled and so missed a good opportunity. Dec. 13th, we came to Mr Smith's, and that day took 35 prisoners. Dec. 14th, our General went out with horse and foot, I with my company was left to keep garrison. I sent out 30 of my men to scout abroad, who killed two Indians and brought in 4 prisoners, one of which was beheaded. Our Army came home at night, killed 7 and brought in 9 more, young and old. Dec. 15th, came in John, a rogue, with pretence of peace, and was dismissed with this errand, that we might speak with Sachems. That evening, he not being gone a quarter of an hour, his company that lay hid behind a hill killed two Salem men within a mile of our quarters, and wounded a third that he is dead. And at a house three miles off where I had 10 men, they killed 2 of them. Instantly, Capt Mosely, myself and Capt Gardner were sent to fetch in Major Appleton's company that kept 3 miles and an half off, and coming, they lay behind a stone wall and fired on us in sight of the garrison. We killed the captain that killed one of the Salem men, and had his cap on. That night they burned Jerry Bull's house, and killed 17. Dec. 16th came that news. Dec. 17th came news that Connecticut forces were at Petaquamscot, and had killed 4 Indians and took 6 prisoners. That day we sold Capt. Davenport 47 Indians, young and old, for 80*l*. in money. Dec. 18th we marched to Petaquamscot with all our forces, only a garrison left ; that night was very stormy ; we lay, one thousand, in the open field that long night. In the morning, Dec. 19th, Lord's day, at 5 o'clock we marched. Between 12 and 1 we came up with the enemy, and had a sore fight three hours. We lost, that are now dead, about 68, and had 150 wounded, many of which are recovered. That long snowy cold night we had about 18 miles to our quarters, with about 210 dead and wounded. We left 8 dead in the fort. We had but 12 dead when we came from the swamp, besides the 8 we left. Many died by the way, and as soon as they were brought in, so that Dec. 20th we buried in a grave 34, next day 4, next day 2, and none since here. Eight died at Rhode Island, 1 at Petaquamscot, 2 lost in the woods and killed, Dec. 20, as we heard since ; some say two more died. By the best intelligence, we killed 300 fighting men ; prisoners we took, say 350, and above 300 women and children. We burnt above 500 houses, left but 9, burnt all their corn, that was in baskets, great store. One signal mercy that night, not to be forgotten, viz. that when we drew off, with so many dead and wounded, they did not pursue us, which the young men would

¹⁰⁵ The letter, as here given, is taken from the foot-notes of Gov. Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 300, of first and second editions, and 272 of the third edition. Mr. Hutchinson said there was no signature, and attributes it to Major Bradford, but a simple comparison with Hubbard's account shows the author to have been Capt. Oliver, and this conclusion is rendered certain by Mr. Drake ("Book of the Indians," p. 219, foot-note), who had seen the original, signed James Oliver, and found this, which appears in Mr. Hutchinson's notes "correct in the main particulars," when compared with the original. He thought Mr. Hutchinson used a copy without signature, as must have been the case ; and I would suggest that that copy was made by Mr. Hubbard for his own use in compiling his history, and was found among his papers which Mr. Hutchinson used extensively in his work. It is to be regretted that Mr. Drake did not speak more definitely about the original, or better still, publish it in some one of his many works. Mr. Drake refers to it as "Capt. Oliver's Narrative." Is the original now in existence ?

have done, but the sachems would not consent ; they had but 10 pounds of powder left. Our General, with about 40, lost our way, and wandered till 7 o'clock in the morning, before we came to our quarters. We thought we were within 2 miles of the enemy again, but God kept us ; to him be the glory. We have killed now and then 1 since, and burnt 200 wigwams more ; we killed 9 last Tuesday. We fetch in their corn daily and that undoes them. This is, as nearly as I can, a true relation. I read the narrative to my officers in my tent, who all assent to the truth of it. Monhegins and Pequods proved very false, fired into the air, and sent word before they came they would so, but got much plunder, guns and kettles. A great part of what is written was attested by Joshua Teffe, who married an Indian woman, a Wampanoag. He shot 20 times at us in the swamp, was taken at Providence Jan'y 14, brought to us the 16th, executed the 18th. A sad wretch, he never heard a sermon but once these 14 years. His father, going to recall him lost his head and lies unburied.

This letter shows something of the well known sympathy of Capt. Oliver with the popular party which at that time so bitterly opposed all concessions towards the Indians, and denounced even their most trusted magistrates and ministers, like Major Gookin and Rev. John Eliot, who sought to protect the friendly or "Christian" Indians from persecution. On one occasion many of these had been seized and imprisoned (by Capt. Mosely, as has been related) at Boston, awaiting trial. On Sept. 10th, at 9 o'clock at night, a mob collected, and presuming upon Capt. Oliver's sympathy, went to his house and proposed that he should lead them and take one of the Indians out of the prison and hang him ; but the Captain, boiling with rage at this insult to himself, "cudgelled them stoutly" with his cane from his house. Capt. Oliver often writes his own name with two l's, and as often with one. It appears that he was unmarried, no reference or record showing otherwise, and at his death in 1682, two of his nephews, John and Nathaniel Oliver, administered upon his estate, and his nephew, Daniel Oliver, Esq., inherited his Narraganset claim.

In a petition to the Court, May 19, 1680, he states that he has served town and country many years, at home and abroad, and hath spent therein the prime of his strength and estate, and later much of what was left to him was consumed by fire, and now being aged and infirm in body, prays to be dismissed from further service as captain of the town company, and also that the Court, in view of his decay, grant to him "the Island whereon the Indian Wianensett lately dwelt lying neer Dunstable," &c.

In answer to this the Deputies passed a vote : "Considering the petitioner's present Incapacity of geting a livelyhud by Reson of his Lameness," &c., and "y^t he dwelling with his kinsman Nathaniel Barns, Doe for the Relife of y^e petitioner, give and grant unto s^d Barns, his heires and Assignes forever, a small Island of upland Containing about twenty acres (more or less) w^{ch} lyeth in Merimak River near to Mr Jonathan Tings farme, w^{ch} Island hath been Com-

monly Caled & knowne by y^e name of Tinker's Island," &c. Mass. Archives, vol. 45, p. 174. See also vol. 70, p. 47.

The magistrates did not concur in the grant while consenting to the dismissal, but appointed a committee, Capt. Samuel Adams of Chelmsford and Lieut. William Johnson of Woburn, to see if the Island was included in any former grant. I have not found their report, but Barnes was granted, "Oct. 1681 two hundred acres of land where it is to be found not prejudiciall to any new plantation." See Colonial Records, vol. 6, pp. 278-9 and 331.

The following are in Hull's Journal :

Credited under Capt. James Oliver.			
February 29 th 1675		Richard Barnam	00 12 04
Ezekiel Gilman	03 03 00	Joseph Bemish	02 14 00
Alexander Boyle	03 00 00	John Harwood	00 18 00
Richard Cowell	03 03 00	Aaron Steevens	02 15 06
Daniel East	03 03 00	Thomas Stanes	02 14 00
Thomas Hunt	02 14 00	April 24, 1676.	
David Landon	02 14 00	William Backaway	02 14 00
James Couch	02 14 00	James Harrington	02 14 00
John Cann	02 14 00	William Dinsdell	02 14 00
Samuel Measy	02 14 00	Gamaliel Rogers	02 14 00
Richard Read	02 19 00	James Harris	02 10 06
Jeffery Jefferies	02 14 00	Henry Critchett	04 10 10
Patrick Moroone	02 14 00	Roger Brown	02 14 00
Thomas Warren	02 14 00	William Maderill	02 14 00
William Baker	02 14 00	Mark Round	02 14 00
Rowland Boulter	02 14 00	John Crooke	02 14 00
John Kendall	02 14 00	June 24, 1676.	
Josiah Belcher	02 14 00	Daniel Clough	02 14 00
Robert Emans	02 14 00	John Verin	02 14 00
Alexander McKeuney	02 14 00	Ephraim Turner <i>Lieut.</i>	07 01 06
Samuel Jenkins	00 18 00	Benjamin Pickering	02 14 00
Thomas Hansett	03 00 00	Henry Kerby	02 14 00
John Casey	03 00 00	Gilbert Foresight	02 14 00
John King	03 03 00	James Knott	02 14 00
James Lindall	03 03 00	Joseph Barber	02 14 00
Samuel Lane	02 14 00	John Wilkins	02 14 00
March 24 th 1675-6		July 24 th 1676	
Thomas Bingly	04 01 00	William Kemball	02 14 00
Thomas Brown	00 06 10	Roger Prosser	02 14 00
Thomas Burch	02 14 00	August 24, 1676	
Richard Drue	03 13 —	Richard House	02 14 00
Joseph Knight	04 01 00	Sept. 23 ^d 1676	
Alexander Forbs	00 12 00	Ralph Powell	02 14 00
Henry Timberlake	03 12 00	Archabald Forrest	02 14 00

The following list, which contains the names of those impressed out of the various Boston companies for this service, under Captain Oliver, will be found different in several respects from the credit list above. In the credits but sixty-one names appear, while among

the slain and wounded are four more, making, with the Captain, sixty-six. In the second list there are seventy-nine in all and thirty-one not credited in Hull. Many of these latter are doubtless boys and substitutes, as appears in the list of slain and wounded, where so many are "Servants" (i. e.) apprentices probably.

There are fourteen names in Hull's list not found in the second. In the official muster at Dedham Plain (*ante*, p. 106), Capt. Oliver's company numbers eighty-three. The discrepancy would doubtless be explained had we the later journal of Mr. Hull's accounts.

The Boston companies are designated by the names of their captains, and the numbers accompanying each denote the number of men from each.

A List of the Souldiers und^r Command of Capt. James Olliver.

Imprimis	Tho: Burch	Will ^m Dolliver
Capt. Ollivers, 17	Henry Timberley	
Capt. James Olliver	Henry Kerbee	C. Hinchman, 6
Lieut. Turner	Joseph Wakfeild	James Whippo
Tho. Bingley	Will ^m Kemble	Sam ^l Jenkins
Serg ^t Bennitt	Will ^m Backua	Tho: Staines
Serg ^t Ingram	Rich: Travis	Jn ^o Verin
Serg ^t Timberleys	Peter Ingsbee	Rob ^t Emins
Serg ^t Meares	Will: Drue	Ralph Powell
Charles Lidgett	Jn ^o Allen	
James Butler		Cp ^t Clark, 8
James Coutch	Cap ^t Hudson, 9	Rowland Bowltter
Mr Symon Lynds	Gamaliell Rodgers	Tho. Hunt
W ^m Middleton	Tho: Brown	Jefery Jeffers
Rich: Crispe	Dan ^l East	Aron Stevens
Will: Douglis	Roger Procer	Houell Davis
Natt: Ellkin	Jn ^o ffeilder	James Harrington
Rich: Burford	James Thomas	Rich: Drue
James Lendall	David Landon	Rich: Cowell
	Will ^m Dinsdell	
	Jn ^o Wilkins	Cp ^t Hull, 10
Major Savidge, 7		James Harris
Will ^m Elliott	Cpt. Richards, 10	Alexander Bogell
Jn ^o Brigs	Ezekiell Gillman	W ^m Baker
Jo: Knight	Jn ^o Cann	Archibell fforest
Sam ^l Laine	Dan ^l Cluff	Josiah Bellicher
Patraick Moraine	Eliezar Gilbert	Dan ^l Harris
Gilbert fforesyth	Hugh Prize	Henry Lizonby
Jn ^o Kendall	Will: Madareell	J ⁿ Hudson
	Henry Crittchitt	Jn ^o Case
Major Clark, 12	Marke Rounds	Jn ^o Cleares
Will: Blackwell	Jo ⁿ Bevis	
Splande Decroe		

Mass. Archives, vol. 68, p. 95.

Besides these, many more were disabled from active service, from the cold and exposure.

A List of y^e Slayne & wounded in Capt Olliver's. 19th of December, 1675

Thomas Broune for Paul Bat of Boston

Alexander fforbes

Splende Decroe Serv^t to Dani, —

James Thomas

Hen: Hall, for Mr Ligett, lost —

} 5 men Slayne.

Sarg^t Peter Bennet

Sarg^t Timberley

James Lendall

W^m Kemble Serv^t to Ju^o Cleere

Ezekiel Gilman

Marke Rounds Serv^t to Hen: Kemble

Alexander Bogell

John Casey Servant to Tho: Gardiner, Muddy River.

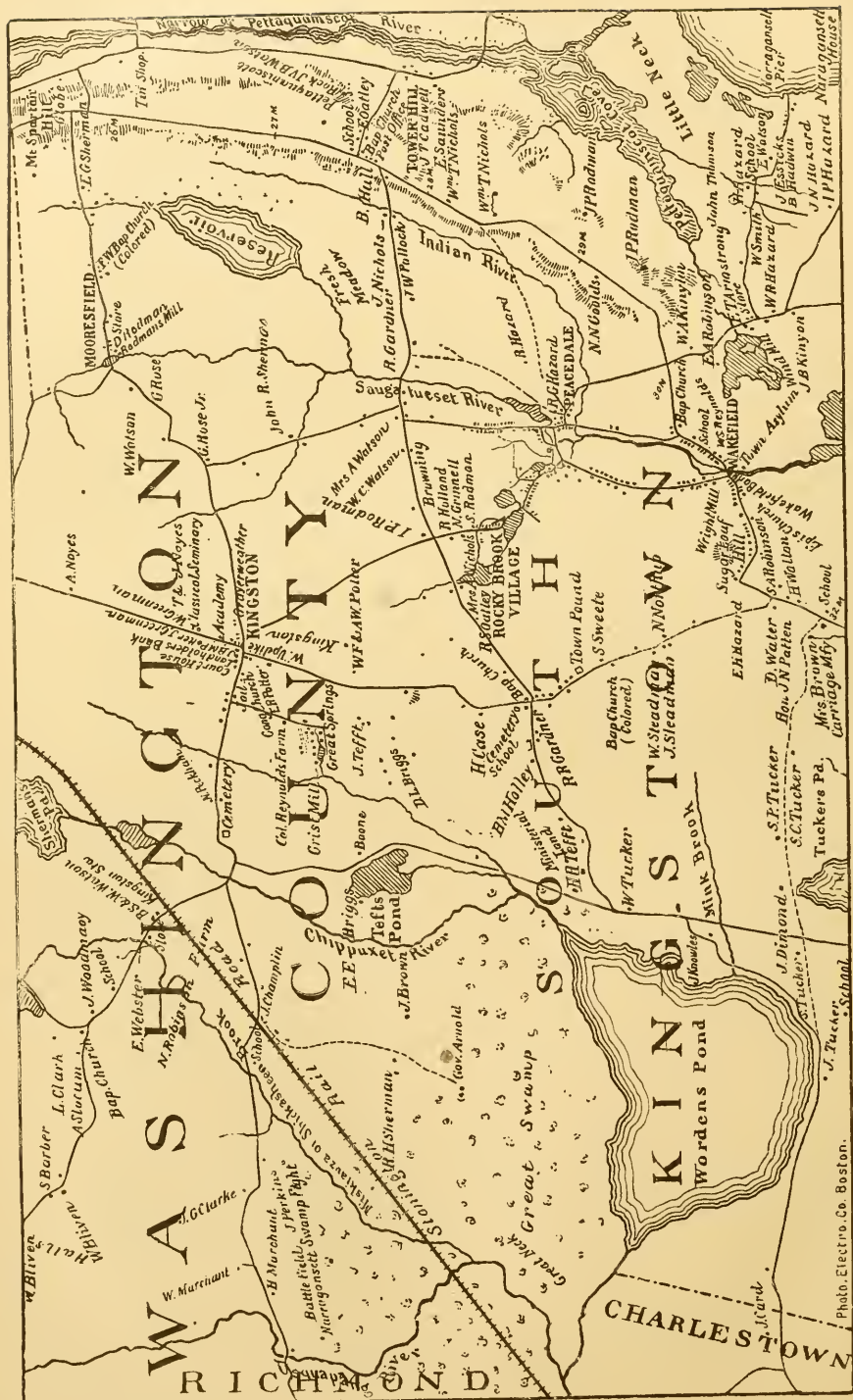
} 7 men
wounded and
are at
Road Island.

Mass. Archives, vol. 68, pp. 103-4.

Ephraim Turner, Capt. Oliver's lieutenant in this expedition, was the son of Robert Turner, who came to Boston, September 4, 1633, in the ship Griffin, with Rev. John Cotton. Robert is styled "Vintner" in the deed of April 1, 1652, from Richard Fairbanks, conveying the estate upon which he rebuilt or enlarged the house where he established the famous hostlery known as the "Blue Anchor Tavern" for more than fifty years. The Boston Daily Globe, April 2, 1885, whose building now occupies the site of the ancient hostlery, published a very interesting account, by William R. Bagnell, of the successive buildings and residents that have occupied the premises. Among the occupants was Gen. Henry Knox (REGISTER, xxx. 362). Of this Robert, the vintner and innholder, and his wife Penelope, Ephraim, the eldest son, was born December 13, 1639; of the Artillery Company 1663, freeman 1666, Ensign in Capt. Oliver's company at home from 1675 to 1680, when he was relieved of the office at his request. He married Sarah Phillips, daughter of Major William, of Charlestown, Boston and Saco, and through her came into possession of large tracts of land in what is now Sandford, Alfred and Waterboro'. The children of Ephraim and Sarah, born in Boston, were—Derlow, born Dec. 3, 1663; Robert, born June 17, 1665; Sarah, born March 24, 1666-7; Abigail, born June 8, 1669; Ephraim, born Nov. 23, 1670; Elizabeth, born August 19, 1672; Deliverance, born August 1, 1673.

Mr. T. Larkin Turner, of Boston, who has thoroughly investigated the various branches of the Turner family, and has kindly assisted in the above sketch, informs me that he has found nothing relative to Ephraim Turner subsequent to 1680-1, and thinks he must have removed from town.





MAP SHOWING THE LOCALITY OF THE NARRAGANSETT FORT.

NO. XIII.

THE NARRAGANSET CAMPAIGN TO THE CLOSE OF THE "GREAT SWAMP" BATTLE.



THE above picture, representing the present appearance of the site of the old "Swamp Fort" of the Narragansetts, destroyed by the forces of the United Colonies, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Plymouth, December 19th, 1675, was published several years since in a book called "Picturesque Rhode Island." Saving the changes incident upon the clearing and cultivation of contiguous land, the place could be easily identified as the battlefield, even if its location were not put beyond question by traditions and also by relics found from time to time upon the place. It is now, as then, an "island of four or five acres," surrounded by swampy land, overflowed except in the driest part of the year. The island was cleared and plowed about 1775, and at that time many bullets were found deeply bedded in the large trees; quantities of charred corn were plowed up in different places, and it is said that Dutch spoons and Indian arrow-heads, etc., have been found here at different times. There is no

monument to mark this site of one of the most brilliant victories in American warfare. The place is now owned by the Hon. J. G. Clarke, of West Kingston, R. I., to whom and to John G. Perry, Esq., of Wakefield, R. I., I am indebted for confirmation of the above facts.

The accompanying map is a section—slightly reduced—of the large map of Rhode Island, made from surveys under the direction of H. F. Walling, Esq., and published by him in 1862. It takes in the line of march from Pettisquamscot (Tower-Hill) to the Fort. There is no "scale of miles" upon the large map, but by a careful comparison of known distances, it appears that it is about seven miles in a bee line, nearly west, from Tower-Hill to the battlefield; by way of McSparran Hill, in direct courses, about ten miles. The army, following the higher land, with frequent halts and probably much uncertain wandering and careful scouting, consumed the time from five o'clock in the morning to about one o'clock P.M.; and it is likely that in this roundabout march they made about fifteen or sixteen miles, the distance reported.

In the retreat, the Army probably followed back upon their morning track as far as McSparran Hill, and thence to Wickford to their quarters at Mr. Richard Smith's ¹⁰⁶ garrison-house, arriving there about two o'clock in the morning, after a march of about eighteen miles, as was reported at the time.

The residence of Hon. J. G. Clarke, proprietor of the ancient battlefield, is about a mile north of it. Tower-Hill is the site of Jireh Bull's garrison-house at Pettisquamscot.

PREPARATIONS AND MARCH AGAINST THE NARRAGANSETTS.

After their somewhat disastrous campaign of the autumn of 1675 in the western parts of the colony of Massachusetts, the United Colonies, upon information that the hostile Indians with Philip were retiring towards the south and to winter quarters amongst the Narragansetts, determined to carry the war against this powerful tribe, who for some time had shown themselves actively hostile. The veteran troops were recalled and reorganized; small towns in various parts of the colonies were garrisoned, and an army of one thousand men was equipped for a winter campaign. General Josiah Winslow, Governor of Plymouth Colony, was appointed commander-in-chief of this Army; Major Samuel Appleton to command the Massachusetts regiment, Major William Bradford that of Plymouth, and Major Robert Treat that of Connecticut. War was formally declared against the Narragansetts on November 2d, 1675,

¹⁰⁶ Mr. Smith, called Capt. and Major by contemporary writers, was a person of wide influence in this part of the country, and held in high esteem in all the colonies. He was the son of Richard Smith, Senior, who came from "Gloster Shire" in England, and in 1641 bought a large tract of land, including the present town of Wickford, and there built the first English house in Narragansett, and set up a trading station and offered free entertainment to all travellers.

in the meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies held at Boston that day.

General Winslow, upon his appointment to the command of the army in this expedition, rode to Boston for consultation with Gov. Leverett and the Council. Thence on Thursday, December the 9th, he rode to Dedham, having Benjamin Church as aid, and probably the gentlemen who constituted the Massachusetts part of his staff or "guard," consisting of the ministers, among whom was Mr. Joseph Dudley, the surgeons, of whom the chief was Daniel Weld, of Salem. I presume other general officers and aids went along with him, of whom we find no mention. Commissary John Morse was probably of this number. The General assumed command of the Massachusetts forces drawn up on Dedham Plain, and formally delivered to him by Major General Denison of Massachusetts, on Thursday, December 9th. This force consisted of six companies of foot, numbering four hundred and sixty-five, besides Captain Prentice's troop of seventy-five. The full quota of Massachusetts was five hundred and twenty-seven soldiers, but there were doubtless many others along as servants to the officers, scouts, camp-followers, &c. To the soldiers a proclamation was made at this time on the part of the Massachusetts Council, "that if they played the man, took the Fort, & Drove the Enemy out of the Narragansett Country, which was their great Seat, that they should have a gratuity in land besides their wages." On the same afternoon they marched twenty-seven miles to Woodcock's Garrison, now Attleboro'. In the evening of Friday, December 10th, they arrived at Seekonk, where vessels with supplies were in waiting. And here also Major Richard Smith was waiting their arrival with his vessel, and took on board Capt. Mosely and his company, to sail direct to his garrison-house at Wickford. Some others, it is likely, went with them to arrange for quartering the troops, and Benjamin Church was sent to make ready for the General's coming. The rest of the forces "ferried over the water to Providence," and probably formed a junction with the main part of the Plymouth regiment at Providence, on Saturday, December 11th. From Mr. Dudley's letter of the 15th, it will be seen that an account had been sent the Council of their movements to the time of arriving at Pautuxet. This letter is now lost from the files. In the evening of Sunday, December 12th, the whole body advanced "from Mr. Carpenter's," crossed the Pautuxet River and marched a long way into "Pomham's Country," now Warwick, R. I.; but from the unskilfulness of their Warwick scouts (probably Englishmen, for if they had been Indians their failure would have been deemed treachery), their purpose of capturing Pomham and his people was defeated, and after a whole night spent in weary marching about, they arrived at Mr. Smith's garrison-house at Wickford on the 13th, and found their vessels from Seekonk already arrived. Capt. Mosely's com-

pany that day captured thirty-six Indians, including Indian Peter, who proved afterwards such an indispensable guide.

There were many doubtless at Smith's garrison, employed by him and gathered thither for security. Church speaks of finding "the Eldridges and some other brisk hands," and going out and taking eighteen Indians, and finding the General arrived on his return to the garrison next morning before sunrise. This would seem from his story to have been on the morning of the 12th; but the other accounts and his own reference to the General's arrival settle the day as the 13th and the time as before daybreak. This exploit of Mr. Church seems to have been unknown to Messrs. Dudley, Oliver and other contemporary writers. On Monday, 13th, no movement was made, but on the 14th the General moved his whole force, except Capt. Oliver's company, which kept garrison, out through the country to the westward, and burned the town of the Sachem "Ahmus," of whom I can find no mention except this of Mr. Dudley's, and the "Quarters" of Quaiapen, Magnus, or Matantuck, as her Indian name was understood by the English, "Old Queen" or "Sunke Squaw," as she was called by them. She was the widow of Mriksah, or Makanno, son of Canonicus first. Her dominions were in the present towns of South and North Kingston and Exeter, and near the line between the latter, upon a high rocky hill, is still to be found the remains of an old Indian fort, known from earliest times as the "Queen's Fort," and probably near the place where her deserted "Quarters" were raided. The army that day destroyed one hundred and fifty wigwams, killed seven and captured nine Indians. In the mean time Capt. Oliver had sent out "five files," i.e. thirty of his men, under Sergeant (Peter) Bennet, who, scouting abroad, killed two Indians, a man and woman, and captured four more.

Mr. Dudley, writing on the next day, Wednesday, December 15th, states that up to that time they had captured or killed, in all, fifty persons, and their prisoners in hand were forty. Capt. Oliver's account makes the number fifty-seven "young and old." Adding Mr. Church's eighteen, and we swell the number to seventy-five. From a careful survey of the matter in all its relations, I am inclined to think that Church was acting in conjunction with, and under the command of Capt. Mosely, to whom the official returns accredit the capture of the whole body, eighteen of whom Church claims to have been his own captives.

Wednesday, Dec. 15th, the army seems to have been held in parley most of the day by the pretended negotiations of "Stonewall," or "Stone-layer" John, an Indian who had lived much with the English, and had learned the trade of stone-mason, but was now hostile, and very serviceable to the Indians in many ways. Whether he was treacherous or not, the Indians were gathering and skulking about the English quarters while he was negotiating, and when he

was safely away they began to pick off our men wherever they found opportunity, and later lay in ambush behind a stone wall and fired upon several companies of the English sent out to bring in Maj. Appleton's company, quartered some miles away. They were quickly repulsed with the loss of one of their leaders, and seem to have gone towards the general rendezvous at the great fort, and on the way they assaulted and burned the garrison of Jireh, or "Jerry" Bull at Pettisquamscot (Tower Hill, S. Kingston, R. I.), killing fifteen of those at the garrison, two only escaping.

Thursday, December 16th, Capt. Prentice with his troop rode out, probably following the trail to Pettisquamscot, where he found the garrison-house in ruins. This is said to have been a very strong stone house, easily defended by a small number, and its destruction, of which there is no detailed account, must have been accomplished by either surprise or treachery. The news had a very depressing effect upon the army, who had hoped that the Connecticut forces had already arrived there.

Friday, December 17th, came the news of the arrival of the Connecticut regiment at Pettisquamscot. Our army seems to have been disposing of the captives and preparing for the march. Forty-seven of the captives were sold to Capt. Davenport on this day, Saturday, Dec. 18th. The General, leaving a small garrison at Wickford, pushed his army forward to Pettisquamscot, and about 5 P.M. joined the Connecticut troops consisting of about three hundred English and one hundred and fifty Mohegan Indians. In a severe snow-storm, the whole force, about one thousand men, encamped in the open field through that bitter cold night. Sunday, Dec. 19th, before day-break (Capt. Oliver says, "at five o'clock"), the whole force marched away towards the enemy's great rendezvous.

The following, gleaned from all available sources, may be of interest at this point.

ROSTER OF THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED COLONIES,
*As organized for the Narragansett Campaign, and as mustered at
Pettisquamscot, December 19, 1675.*

Gen. JOSIAH WINSLOW, Governor of Plymouth Colony, Com. in Chief.

Staff. { Daniel Weld, of Salem, Chief Surgeon.
 { Joseph Dudley, of Boston, Chaplain.
 { Benjamin Church, of Little Compton, R. I., Aid.

Massachusetts Regiment.

Samuel Appleton, of Ipswich, Major, and Captain of 1st Company.

Staff. { Richard Knott, of Marblehead, Surgeon.
 { Samuel Nowell, of Boston, Chaplain.
 { John Morse, of Ipswich, Commissary.

1st Company—Jeremiah Swain, Lieut.; Ezekiel Woodward, Sergeant.

2d Company—Samuel Mosely, Captain; Perez Savage, Lieut.

3d Company—James Oliver, Captain; Ephraim Turner, Lieut.; Peter Bennett, Sergeant.

- 4th Company—Isaac Johnson, Captain; Phineas Upham, Lieut.; Henry Bowen, Ensign.
 5th Company—Nathaniel Davenport, Captain; Edward Tyng, Lieut.; John Drury, Ensign.
 6th Company—Joseph Gardiner, Captain; William Hathorne, Lieut.; Benjamin Sweet, Ensign, prom. Lieut.; Jeremiah Neal, Sergeant, prom. Ensign.
Troop.—Thomas Prentice, Captain; John Wayman, Lieut.

Plymouth Regiment.

William Bradford, of Marshfield, Major, and Captain of 1st Company.

Staff. { Matthew Fuller, of Barnstable, Surgeon.
 { Thomas Huckins, of Barnstable, Commissary.

1st Company—Robert Barker, of Duxbury, Lieut.

2d Company—John Gorham, of Barnstable, Captain; Jonathan Sparrow, of Eastham, Lieut.; William Wetherell, Sergeant.

Connecticut Regiment.

Robert Treat, of Milford, Major.

Staff. { Gershom Bulkeley, Surgeon.¹⁰⁷
 { Rev. Nicholas Noyes, Chaplain.
 { Stephen Barrett, Commissary.

1st Company—John Gallop, of Stonington, Captain.

2d Company—Samuel Marshall, Windsor, Captain.

3d Company—Nathaniel Seely, of Stratford, Captain.

4th Company—Thomas Watts, of Hartford, Captain.

5th Company—John Mason, of Norwich, Captain.¹⁰⁸

There were other officers and men of note doubtless who went along with the army. Two surgeons, Dr. Jacob Willard (of Newton) and Dr. John Cutler of Hingham were credited under Major Appleton for their service, and were accredited grantees of the Narragansett townships in 1733, as was also Dr. John Clark of Boston. I have no positive authority for assigning Dr. Knott to Major Appleton's staff, but the first purchase of surgical instruments on the part of the Colony was made of George Thomas, charged December 17, 1675, and were for Dr. Weld and Dr. Knott. I think that Dr. William Hawkins was afterwards sent to the wounded at Rhode Island. The roster of line officers of the Massachusetts Regiment is well attested by the accounts of the Treasurer. Of the Plymouth officers, Lieut. Robert Barker was in the spring following, March 10th, imprisoned and fined by the sentence of a council of war, for mutinous conduct in "breaking away from the army while on the march," but it is evident that this was after the battle at which he must have been present, as his heirs evidently received his claim. His defection probably occurred during "The Long March" or "Hungry March" so called, through the Nipmuck country to Marl-

¹⁰⁷ A minister, but now acting as Surgeon.

¹⁰⁸ From some intimations it would seem that Captain Mason was in command of a sixth company composed of Indians, but I have found no positive proof. A contemporary writer says Captain Gallop "commanded Uncas's men." Perhaps each of these had a party in his command.

borough. Of Connecticut, I have not been able to identify any other line officers. Of the troops of Massachusetts, the quota was 527; the number actually impressed was 540, including troopers 75. The returns made at Dedham Plain give 465 foot, troopers 73. The Connecticut quota was 315, and there was also a company of Indians 150. Plymouth's quota was 158.

THE BATTLE AT THE GREAT SWAMP FORT.

About one o'clock, P.M., the army came upon the enemy at the edge of the swamp, in the midst of which the Indian fortress was built, the Massachusetts regiment leading in the march, Plymouth next, and Connecticut bringing up the rear. Of the Massachusetts troops Capts. Mosely and Davenport led the van and came first upon the Indians, and immediately opened fire upon them—thus at the beginning gaining the important advantage of the first fire, which the Indians had almost always gained and made so deadly by deliberate volleys from ambush, as they doubtless purposed now. The Indians returned the fire with an ineffectual volley, and then fled into the swamp closely pursued by the foremost companies, who did not wait for the word of command, or stand much upon the "order of their going," until they reached the fortifications within which the Indians hastily betook themselves. This fort was situated upon an island of some five or six acres in the midst of a cedar swamp, which was impassable except to the Indians by their accustomed paths, and now made passable only by the severe cold of the previous day and night. It is probable that the Indians depended chiefly upon the swamp to protect them, though their defences are described as having been of considerable strength. A portion of the high ground had been inclosed, and from a careful comparison of the most reliable accounts, it seems that the fortifications were well planned, probably by the Englishman Joshua Tefte, or Tift, as Mr. Dudley calls him. Mr. Hubbard says: "The Fort was raised upon a Kind of Island of five or six acres of rising Land in the midst of a swamp; the sides of it were made of Palisadoes set upright, the which was compassed about with a Hedg of almost a rod Thickness." A contemporary writer (whose account was published at the time in London, and is reprinted in Mr. Drake's publication called the "Old Indian Chronicle") says: "In the midst of the Swamp was a Piece of firm Land, of about three or four Acres, whereon the *Indians* had built a kind of Fort, being palisadoed round, and within that a clay Wall, as also felled down abundance of Trees to lay quite round the said Fort, but they had not quite finished the said Work." It is evident from these, the only *detailed* accounts, and from some casual references, that the works were rude and incomplete, but would have been almost impregnable to our troops had not the swamp been frozen. At the corners and ex-

posed portions, rude block-houses and flankers had been built, from which a raking fire could be poured upon any attacking force. Either by chance, or the skill of Peter, their Indian guide, the English seem to have come upon a point of the fort where the Indians did not expect them. Mr. Church, in relating the circumstances of Capt. Gardiner's death, says that he was shot from that side "next the upland where the English entered the swamp." The place where he fell was at the "east end of the fort." The tradition that the English approached the swamp by the rising land in front of the "Judge Marchant" house, thus seems confirmed. This "upland" lies about north of the battlefield.

Our van pursued those of the enemy who first met them so closely that they were led straight to the entrance used by the Indians themselves, perhaps by their design then to attract attention from an exposed part of their works a short distance away. The passage left by the Indians for their own use, as before mentioned, was by a long tree over a "place of water," across which but one might pass at a time, "and which was so waylaid that they would have been cut off that had ventured." Mr. Hubbard counts among the fortunate circumstances of that day that the troops did not attempt to carry this point, and that they discovered the only assailable point a little farther on. This was at a corner of the fort where was a large unfinished gap, where neither palisades nor the abbatis, or "hedge," had been placed, but only a long tree had been laid across about five feet from the ground, to fill the gap, and might be easily passed; only that the block-house right opposite this gap and the flankers at the sides were finished, from which a galling fire might sweep and enfilade the passage. Mr. Hubbard's account is very clear about this, yet several writers have sadly confused matters and described the first as the point of assault.

It seems that the companies of Capts. Davenport and Johnson came first¹⁰⁹ to this place, and at once charged through the gap and over the log at the head of their companies, but Johnson fell dead at the log, and Davenport a little within the fort, and their men were met with so fierce a fire that they were forced to retire again and fall upon their faces to avoid the fury of the musketry till it should somewhat abate. Mosely and Gardiner, pressing to their assistance, met a similar reception, losing heavily, till they too fell back with the others, until Major Appleton coming up with his own and Capt. Oliver's men, massed his entire force as a storming column, and it is said that the shout of one of the commanders that the Indians were running, so inspired the soldiers that they made an impetuous assault, carried the entrance again, beat the enemy from one of his flankers at the left, which afforded them a temporary shel-

¹⁰⁹ John Raymond claimed to have been the first soldier to enter the fort. The only soldier of that name credited was John Rayment, under Major Appleton.

ter from the Indians still holding the block-house opposite the entrance. In the mean time, the General, holding the Plymouth forces in reserve, pushed forward the Connecticut troops, who not being aware of the extent of the danger from the block-house, suffered fearfully at their first entrance, but charged forward gallantly, though some of their brave officers and many of their comrades lay dead behind them, and unknown numbers and dangers before. The forces now joining, beat the enemy step by step, and with fierce fighting, out of their block-houses and various fortifications.¹¹⁰ Many of the Indians, driven from their works, fled outside, some doubtless to the wigwams inside, of which there were said to be upward of five hundred, many of them large and rendered bullet-proof by large quantities of grain in tubs and bags, placed along the sides. In these many of their old people and their women and children had gathered for safety, and behind and within these as defences the Indians still kept up a skulking fight, picking off our men. After three hours hard fighting, with many of the officers and men wounded or dead, a treacherous enemy of unknown numbers and resources lurking in the surrounding forests, and the night coming on, word comes to fire the wigwams, and the battle becomes a fearful holocaust, great numbers of those who had taken refuge therein being burned.

The fight had now raged for nearly three hours with dreadful carnage in proportion to the numbers engaged. It is not certain at just what point the Plymouth forces were pushed forward, but most likely after the works were carried, and the foremost, exhausted, retired for a time bearing their dead and wounded to the rear; but we are assured that all took part in the engagement, coming on in turn as needed. It is doubtful if the cavalry crossed the swamp, but were rather held in reserve and as scouts to cover the rear and prevent surprises from any outside parties.

When now the fortress and all its contents were burning, and destruction assured, our soldiers hastily gathered their wounded and as many as possible of their dead, and formed their shattered column for the long and weary march back to Wickford.

Reliable details of this battle are few, and only gleaned from casual references here and there, and thus many, who have sought to write upon the matter, have quoted in full the story of Benjamin Church, who relates his own experience, and draws out his personal

¹¹⁰ Mr. Dudley's account seems to indicate that at this point the Indians rallied and beat the English again out of the fort; but after careful weighing of the evidence, I am satisfied that in the matter of the battle itself, Mr. Hubbard's account, gathered from the officers of Massachusetts, especially Major Appleton, is most correct in details. Mr. Dudley remained outside the swamp with the General, his staff and reserve force, and the repulse, at the first onset, would naturally be magnified by those who were forced to await the issue without participation. The above account is entirely consistent. Again, when the band of volunteers headed by Church was sent forward by the General, the fort was already in full possession of our army, and when they passed the entrance many of the slain and several of our captains were lying where they fell. If there had been a retreat from the fort, these dead officers would have been removed.

reminiscences with all an old man's fondness for his deeds of "long ago." The very small part he took in this battle is evident even from his own story, and from the utter silence of other writers, especially Mr. Hubbard, who knew Church and commends him highly for his exploits in the Mount Hope campaign. No one can doubt the ability or courage of Mr. Church, but his part in this battle was simply that when the fort was carried and the fighting nearly over, he went, with some thirty others, into and through the fort and out into the swamp upon the trail of the retreating foe, discovered, ambushed and scattered a skulking party of them returning to the attack, chased a few of them into the fort amongst the huts, and was himself severely wounded by them thus brought to bay.

I wish here to record my protest against the unjust, often weak, and always inconsiderate, criticism bestowed upon our leaders in this campaign, and especially in this battle, for their lack of foresight in abandoning the shelter and provisions of the fort, their sacrifice of the lives of our wounded men through their removal and the dangers and fatigues of the long march, and their inhumanity in burning the helpless and innocent in their huts and wigwams.

It is well to remember at the start, that many of the wisest, ablest and bravest men of the three colonies were the leaders in this affair. A noble commander, wise and brave, reverend ministers, by no means backward with their opinions; the most prominent and skilful surgeons the country afforded; veteran majors and captains of Massachusetts and Connecticut, with their veteran soldiers fresh from the severe experiences in the western campaign, inured to danger and experienced in Indian wiles and deceits: against all these we have recorded only the remonstrance of Mr. Church, who up to that time, at least, had experience in Indian warfare only as a scout, and the record we have of any protest by him was made many years after the affair. And again, from the standpoint of their conditions as nearly as we can now judge, it seems that their hasty retreat was wise. They were some sixteen miles from their base of supplies (it is doubtful if they had noted the Indian supplies until the burning began). There was no way of reaching their provisions and ammunition at Wickford except by detaching a portion of their force now reduced greatly by death, wounds and exposure. The numbers of Indians that had escaped, and were still in the woods close at hand, were unknown, but supposed to be several thousand, with report of a thousand in reserve about a mile distant. These were now scattered and demoralized, but in a few hours might rally and fall upon the fort, put our troops, in their weakened condition, upon the defensive, and make their retreat from the swamp extremely difficult if not utterly impossible, encumbered as they would be by the wounded, whose swollen and stiffened wounds in a few hours would render removal doubly painful and dangerous. Added to this was the chance of an attack upon the garrison at Wickford, and the

dread of the midnight ambushade, which every hour's delay made more likely and would render more dangerous. Thus it seems to me that from the standpoint of military strategy, the immediate retreat to Wickford was best. As to inhumanity, we must remember the harsh times in which they were living, the contempt in which the Indians were held—first, as heathen, against whom war was righteous; second, as idle and treacherous vagabonds, with no rights which honest industry was bound to respect; third, as deadly enemies, lying in wait to plunder, burn and destroy. Moreover, the very life of the colonies was threatened by this war; many thriving hamlets were already in ashes; hundreds of families were broken up and scattered up and down, with loss of all; fathers, husbands and brothers slain or in captivity, farms and homes laid waste, whole communities huddled in wretched block-houses, while the "reign of terror" swept about them. Brookfield, "Beers's Plain," and "Bloody-Brook," with their outrage and carnage, were fresh in mind, and a few days before, the destruction and massacre at Pet-tisquamscot; while even here at their feet were their dead and dying comrades and beloved officers. Is it strange that they were cruel, when now for the first time they came face to face with the authors of all their troubles in a fair fight? By any candid student of history I believe this must be classed as one of the most glorious victories ever achieved in our history, and considering conditions, as displaying heroism, both in stubborn patience and dashing intrepidity, never excelled in American warfare.

Of the details of the march to Wickford very little is known; through a bitter cold winter's night, in a blinding snowstorm, carrying two hundred and ten of their wounded and dead, these soldiers, who had marched from dawn till high noon, had engaged in a desperate life-and-death struggle from noon till sunset, now plodded sturdily back to their quarters of the day before, through deepening snows and over unbroken roads.¹¹¹ By the letters below, it will be seen that the General and staff, with their escort, got separated from the main column, lost their way and wandered about till 7 o'clock next morning, while the main body reached their quarters at 2 o'clock.

DEAD AND WOUNDED.

The names of those officers and soldiers of Massachusetts killed and wounded in this battle, have been given heretofore in the sketches of the companies to which they belonged.

By Capt. Oliver's letter, written a little more than a month afterwards from the seat of war, and considered official, we learn that up to that time the dead numbered about sixty-eight, and the wounded

See p. 123 of
Those of Davis
comp.

¹¹¹ There is a tradition (mentioned in a note in Hon. Elisha R. Potter, Jr.'s "Early History of Narragansett") that the English feared an ambushade in force on the line of march by which they had come, and so marched by way of McSparran Hill on their return.

one hundred and fifty, in the whole army. Eight of the dead were left in the fort, and twelve more were dead when they started back to Wickford. Twenty-two died on the march, and before the next day, Monday, Dec. 20th, when they buried thirty-four in one grave, and six more within two days, eight died at Rhode Island, and three others, making in all but fifty-nine, if we reckon the twelve carried from the fort as a part of the thirty-four buried Dec. 20th; otherwise, seventy-one. But the first estimate of sixty-eight is satisfied if we add the twenty killed at the fort to those buried at Wickford and Rhode Island, and conclude that the twelve taken from the fort were buried somewhere on the march.¹¹²

Of the losses of Massachusetts we are not left in doubt, since there is still preserved in our archives a full and official return, which Mr. Hubbard gives substantially, adding to the wounded probably those whose wounds were slight and not reported at the time, and with some modifications of the list of dead, though with the same total.

The official list of those killed and wounded in the battle, including three of Capt. Gardiner's men killed previous to the battle, is dated January 6, 1675, and entitled,

A list of Major Sam^l Appleton souldjers y^t were slayne & wounded the 19th Decemb. '75, at the Indians fort at Narraganset.

		Killed.	Wounded.
In the Company of	Major Appleton,	4	18
	Capt. Mosely,	6	9
	Capt. Oliver,	5	8
	Capt. Davenport,	4	11
	Capt. Johnson,	4	8
	Capt. Gardiner,	7	10
	Capt. Prentice,	1	3
Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 104.		—	—
		31	67

Of the officers, Capts. Davenport, Johnson and Gardiner were killed, and Lieutenants Upham, Savage, Swain, and Ting were wounded.¹¹³

Of the Connecticut troops, seventy-one were killed and wounded according to Hubbard; and according to the eminent historian of Connecticut, Dr. Benjamin Trumbull, seventy.

Capt. Gallop,	10	Mr. Hubbard's Account.	
Capt. Marshall,	14	Of New Haven Company,	20
Capt. Seely,	20	Of Capt. Siely his Company,	20
Capt. Mason,	9	Of Capt. Watt his Company,	17
Capt. Watts,	17—70	Of Capt. Marshal his Company,	14—71

¹¹² Ninigret, sachem of the Nianticks, sent to General Winslow word that his people had buried the dead of the English left at the Fort, and that the number was twenty-four, and he asked for a charge of powder for each. This information was given in a letter from Major Bradford to Rev. Mr. Cotton of Plymouth.

¹¹³ The random estimates of Henry Trumbull, who published a popular History of Indian Wars in 1810, will appear absurd when compared with the above. For instance, he gives as killed and wounded of Connecticut 357, when their whole force was 300 English; and of their Indian allies, he kills 51 and wounds 82 of the 150.

Major Treat by tradition is said to have been the last man to have left the fort, commanding the rear guard of the army; and of his captains, Gallop, Marshall and Seely were killed, and Capt. Mason mortally wounded.

Of the Plymouth forces, Major Bradford, commander, and Benjamin Church of the General's staff were severely wounded, and of the soldiers the killed and wounded in both companies were twenty, by best accounts.

The grave of the forty buried at Wickford was marked by a tree called the "grave appletree," which was blown down in the gale of September, 1815. The wounded were sent in vessels to Rhode Island, and well cared for.

Of the losses of the enemy there can be no reliable account. Capt. Oliver says, "By the best intelligence we killed 300 fighting men, and took say 350 and above 300 women and children." Mr. Dudley, two days after the fight, reckons about two hundred; Capt. Mosely counted sixty-four in one corner of the fort; and Capt. Gorham made an estimate of at least one hundred and fifty. The desperate strait of the Indians is shown by their leaving the dead in their flight. Indian prisoners afterward reported seven hundred killed.

The conduct of the Mohegan and Pequod allies is represented by Capt. Oliver as false, they firing in the air, but securing much plunder. I have found no other notice of their part in the battle.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The following letters, written by Joseph Dudley, who was with Gen. Winslow as one of his staff or "Guard," and also served as chaplain to the army, are perhaps the most reliable official reports of the campaign that remain. The letter of the fifteenth is still preserved, as noted below. That of the twenty-first was published by Governor Hutchinson in his "History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay," London edition (1765), page 302. I have not been able to find the original of this last. The letter of the Council to Gen. Winslow, in answer to Dudley's first, is preserved as below noted, and in two copies—the first a rough draft, the second a carefully written copy in Secretary Rawson's own hand.

Letter of Joseph Dudley.

May it please your Honn^r

Mr Smiths 15, 10, 75

I am commanded by the Generall to give your Honn^r account of our proceeding since our last fr^m Pautuxet in the Sabath evening we advanced the whole body from Mr Carpenters with Intent to surprise Pomham & his Party at about 10 or 12 Miles Distance having information by our Warwick Scouts of his seat but the darkness of y^e Night Difficulty of our passage & unskilfulness of Pilots we passed the whole Night & found ourselves at such Distance yet from y^m y^t we Diverted & Marched to Mr Smiths, found our Sloops from Seaconk arrived since which by y^e help of Indian Peter by whom your Honnor had the Information formerly of y^e Number &

resolution of y^e Naragansets, we have burned two of their Towns viz: Ahmus who is this summer come down amongst them & y^e old Queens quarters consisting of about 150 Many of them large wigwams & seized & slayn 50 Persons in all our prisoners being about 40 Concerning whom the generall prayes your advice concerning their transportation or Disposall all which was performed without any loss save a slight wound by an Arrow in Lient. Wayman's face. the whole body of them we find removed into their great swamp at Canonicus his quarters where we hope with the addition of Connecticut, when arrived we hope to Coop them up, this day we Intend the removall or spoyle of y^r Corn & hope to Morrow a March toward them, our soldiers being very chearful are forward notwithstanding great Difficulty by weather & otherwise, abov^d Peter whom we have found very faithfull will Make us believe y^t y^r are 3000 fighting Men though Many unarmed Many well fitted with lances we hope by cutting off their forage to force them to a fayr battle In y^e Mean time I have only to present the Generalls humble service to your (*sic*) & to beg your Intense prayers for this so great Concern and remayn your

Honnors Humble Servant

JOS: DUDLEY.

Goodale¹¹⁴ nor Moor arrived we fear want of shot.

My humble service to Madam Leveret Brother and Sister Hubbard & Dudley.

Amongst our Prison^{rs} & slayne we find 10 or 12 Wampanoags.

[Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 101.]

Answer of the Council to Gen. Winslow.

S^r y^r Intelligences and Advices subjected by Mr Dudley the 15 & 16 Ins^t wee received this Morning being the 18th at eight of the clock. Wee desire to blesse God y^t hee hath smiled upon you in y^r first Attempts & hath delivered some of o^r enemys into yo^r hands & also to Acknowledge Gods favour in the supporting y^e hearts of yo^r souldiers in such a severe season & keeping up their spirits wth courage and that you have received no more losse of men: But yet also according to God's wonted manner of dealing hee hath mixed the Cup wth some bitternes; in the losse susteyned in yo^r soldiers especially Mr Bulls house & y^e people y^e also y^t the forces of Conecticut are not joynd wth you nor the vessell wth supplys of Ammunition & provision then arrived; Wee hope by this time both the vessell may be arrived & the Conecticut men conjoined wth you but least that should faile wee have sent a cart wth Ammunition; and an order from Gov^{nr} Winthrop for their forces to March speedily; Concerning the disposall of y^e Indian prisoners; Our Advice is if any present to buy them, they may be sould there & delivered by your Orders or if that cannot bee then to secure them at the Island or els-where at yo^r best discretion; Wee have no more to add at present but our hearty prayers unto the Lord of Hoasts to appear wth & for you & all wth you, in all yo^r enterprises, for the Lord & his people and cover all yo^r heads in the day of Battle, So wth our particular respects & love to y^rself & all y^e Command^{rs} & Ministers; wee remajne

Yo^r respective friends & servants

Boston 18: December 1675

EDWARD RAWSON Secret^y in the name

at one of the clock.

& by y^e order of the Council.

[Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 102.]

¹¹⁴ Richard Goodale and Thomas Moore. (See Maritime Department, p. 93.)

*Second Letter of Joseph Dudley.*¹¹⁵

Mr Smith's, 21, 10, 1675 (Dec. 21, 1675).

May it please your honour,

The coming in of Connecticut force to Petaquamscot, and surprisal of six and slaughter of 5 on Friday night, Saturday we marched towards Petaquamscot, though in the snow, and in conjunction about midnight or later, we advanced; Capt. Mosely led the van, after him Massachusetts, and Plimouth and Connecticut in the rear; a tedious march in the snow, without intermission, brought us about two of the clock afternoon, to the entrance of the swamp, by the help of Indian Peter, who dealt faithfully with us; our men, with great courage, entered the swamp about 20 rods; within the cedar swamp we found some hundreds of wigwams, fortified in with a breastwork and flanked, and many small blockhouses up and down, round about; they entertained us with a fierce fight, and many thousand shot, for about an hour, when our men valiantly scaled the fort, beat them thence, and from the blockhouses. In which action we lost Capt. Johnson, Capt Danforth, and Capt Gardiner, and their lieutenants disabled, Capt. Marshall also slain; Capt. Seely, Capt. Mason, disabled, and many other of our officers, insomuch that, by a fresh assault and recruit of powder from their store, the Indians fell on again, recarried and beat us out of, the fort, but by the great resolution and courage of the General and Major, we reinforced, and very hardly entered the fort again, and fired the wigwams, with many living and dead persons in them, great piles of meat and heaps of corn, the ground not admitting burial of their store, were consumed; the number of their dead, we generally suppose the enemy lost at least two hundred men; Capt. Mosely counted in one corner of the fort sixty four men; Capt. Goram reckoned 150 at least; But, O! Sir, mine heart bleeds to give your honor an account of our lost men, but especially our resolute Captains, as by account inclosed, and yet not so many, but we admire there remained any to return, a captive woman, well known to Mr Smith, informing that there were three thousand five hundred men engaging us and about a mile distant a thousand in reserve, to whom if God had so pleased, we had been but a morsel, after so much disablement: she informeth, that one of their sagamores was slain and their powder spent, causing their retreat, and that they are in a distressed condition for food and houses, that one Joshua Tift, an Englishman, is their encourager and conductor. Philip was seen by one, credibly informing us, under a strong guard.

After our wounds were dressed, we drew up for a march, not able to abide the field in the storm, and weary, about two of the clock, obtained our quarters, with our dead and wounded, only the General, Ministers, and some other persons of the guard, going to head a small swamp, lost our way, and returned again to the evening's quarters, a wonder we were not a prey to them, and, after at least thirty miles marching up and down, in the morning recovered our quarters, and had it not been for the arrival of Goodale next morning, the whole camp had perished; The whole army, especially Connecticut, is much disabled and unwilling to march, with tedious storms, and no lodgings, and frozen and swollen limbs, Major Treat importunate to return at least to Stonington; Our dead and wounded are about two hundred, disabled as many; the want of officers, the considera-

¹¹⁵ This letter is copied from the note in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. i. page 273.

tion whereof the General commends to your honor, forbids any action at present, and we fear whether Connecticut will comply, at last, to any action. We are endeavoring, by good keeping and billeting our men at several quarters, and, if possible removal of our wounded to Rhode-Island, to recover the spirit of our soldiers, and shall be diligent to find and understand the removals on other action of the enemy, if God please to give us advantage against them.

As we compleat the account of our dead, now in doing, the Council is of the mind, without recruit of men we shall not be able to engage the main body.

I give your honour hearty thanks
for your kind lines, of which
I am not worthy

I am Sir, your honor's
humble servant,
JOSEPH DUDLEY.

Since the writing of these lines, the General and Council have jointly concluded to abide on the place, notwithstanding the desire of Connecticut, only entreat that a supply of 200 may be sent us, with supply of commanders: and, whereas we are forced to garrison our quarters with at least one hundred, three hundred men, upon joint account of the colonies, will serve, and no less, to effect the design. This is by order of the council.

Blunderbusses, and haud grenadoes, and armour, if it may be, and at least two armourers to mend arms.

COMMISSARY DEPARTMENT.

The following accounts are inserted in this place as showing somewhat the method and material of the commissary department at that time. The accounts, as will be noticed, relate largely to the earlier part of the war, and the Mount Hope campaign under Gen. Cudworth. The preliminary accounts having been squared by Mr. Southward (Southworth), all the rest were gathered in the general settlement in January, 1675-6.—In Hull's Journal.

27 August 1675

Plymouth Colony Dr. to Cash for severalls as followeth.		
To Phillip Curtis for five men to guard powder		} 02, 05, 09
and shott	00, 17, 00	
To the Guard for expence at Roxbury	00, 08, 06	
for $\frac{1}{4}$ bb ^l of biskett	00, 05, 09	
for 1 ^{lb} of powder besides what they brought	00, 01, 06	
Expence of s ^d Guard at Dedham	00, 13, 00	

September 14th 1675

Richard Smith for guarding Ammunition	00, 03, 00	} 00, 15, 00
Thomas Lawrence ditto.	00, 03, 00	
James Hosly ditto.	00, 03, 00	
James Montt ditto.	00, 03, 00	
Ebenezer Hill ditto.	00, 03, 00	

November 23 ^d . Cr. By Received of Mr. Southward	
for disbursements	03, 00, 09

January 25th 1675

Plimouth Colony Dr. to Sundry acc^{ts} as hear stated in p'per p'cells, for severalls dd'. by sundry persons for the use of s^d Colony at divers times

from the 29th of June last to this moneth inclusive as for the acc^{ts}, receipts,
& orders relating thereunto filed as p No. 1269 & 1270 £285, 14, 10

Armes for a muskett to Gen^l Cudworth 00, 18, 00
Liquors for Rum to viz.

Mr James Brown 9½ Gall. . . . 2, 5, 0 }
Their forces at Naragansett 12½ gall . . . 3, 0, 0 } 05, 05, 00

Apparel for severalls viz. 32, 11, 00

To Nathaniel Gunny 1 pr shoes . . . 0, 4, 0
Ditto Benjamin Peirce 0, 4, 0
To Capt Cornelius, Wastcoat, Shoes & Stokins 0, 14, 0
To Josiah Joslin, shoes and stockins . . 0, 7, 0
To Gen^l Cudworth 6 pr. shoes and 13 p. stockins 3, 0, 0

Delivered by the Commissioners to their forces at
Naragansett viz.

26—shirts at	7, 16, 0	} 28, 2, 0
6—Wastcoats	2, 14, 0	
9—p drawers	1, 4, 0	
1—p breeches	0, 18, 0	
2—lined coats	3, 0, 0	
10—p shoes	4, 15, 0	
5—p stockins		
6 y ^{ds} of canvas for neckcloaths	1, 0, 0	
shott pouch and calicoe		
180 y ^{ds} sale cloth at y ^e	6, 15, 0	

(32, 11, 0)

Ammunition Id' viz. 103, 08, 10

To the officers a bagg with 35^{lbs} powder . . . 2, 14, 0
Ditto to Benjamin Church with 18^{lbs} and 50 bullets 2, 13, 6
To the Gen^l 1 cask bullets qr 1^{lb} or better . . 2, 16, 0
To Mr James Brown 5½ bbl powder at 7^{lb} pr bbl. 38, 10, 0
Ditto 9 cask & 1 chest bullets qr. 11^{lb} . . 25, 13, 4
More dd'. by the Commissaries 480 flints . . 0, 10, 0
124 bullets . . . 2, 12, 0

8 half barrells of powder of the Massachusetts
detained by the Governor of Rhoad Island
for 4 barrells lent to Plimouth } 28, 0, 0

(103, 08, 10)

Tobacco, for 15^{lb} to Nathaniel Gunny 0, 07, 06

Tooles, dd' to the officers viz 3 spades . . . 0, 10, 0 }
2 Mattucks . . . 1, 14, 0 } 02, 08, 00
4 Axes . . . 1, 04, 0 }

Biskett dd' viz. To the Officers 150 cakes . . . 0, 14, 0 }
To Mr James Brown 9 hhds. . . . 31, 10, 0 } 44, 04, 00
To Gen^{al} Cudworth 3½ hhds. . . . 12, 00, 0 }

Grocery for 26^{lb} Raisons solis to ditto Brown 01, 06, 00

Fish for 1 hhd. ditto 04, 00, 00

Porke ditto for 5 bb^l at 4^{lb} pr bb^l 20, 00, 00 }
2 bb^l ditt 8, 00, 00 } 28, 00, 00

Miscellanies. for severalls viz		24, 19, 06
To Benjamin Church 1 hh ^d biscake	}	11, 10, 00
2 bb ^l porke		
2 bsh. pease & 1 sack	}	01, 02, 00
20 ^{lb} tobaccoe		
To Capt. Goram 1 ^{hhd} biskett & pease	}	03, 17, 06
wanting 200 cakes		
1 ^{lb} raisons solis		
4 large peeces of porke		
To Gen ^{all} Cudworth 1 kittle		01, 10 00
To ditto Church 1 jarr oyle	}	01, 03, 00
2 galls wine		
10 ^{lb} raisons solis		
To L ^t Tanner 1 ^{bbi} pease	}	04, 00, 00
(4?) ^{bbi} biscake		
2 ^{bbi} porke		
To John Cobleigh for ditt. Ch(urch)?	}	1, 16, 00
1 ^{bbi} salt		
At Narragansett 2 qire p(aper)		0, 01, 00
		(24, 19, 06)
Billetings. for quartering 12 souldiers at Mr Miles hous	}	10, 00, 00
Alsoe Gen ^{all} Cudworth's and Capt Bradfords Companies		
the 17 th 18 th & 19 th dayes of July with bread, pease,		
porke tobacco and liq ^{ors}		
Pease viz		
To dit. Browne 3 ^{hhd} with Cask	}	9, 00, 00
To dit. Cudworth 2 ^{hhd}		
Cask for 9 ^{hhd} to Ditto Browne		1, 15, 00
Maritim—disbursments viz		2, 01, 00
for the frait of 4 ^{hhd} bisket and 2 ^{bbi} of tobacco	}	11, 00, 00
at guess		
Ditto to 1 ³ p ^t of the hire of Vessells		1, 00, 00
		10, 00, 00
Salt dd'. viz		
To Ditto Browne 1 ^{hhd} qr. 12 ^{bsh} & Cask	}	2, 00, 00
By Ditto Commissaries 1 ¹ / ₂ bsh		
Thomas Terry for 1 ¹ / ₂ firkins of sope	}	02, 06, 00
1 ^{bsh} meale, 10 wooden boules and 1 cann		
		02, 05, 00
		(285, 14, 10)

June 24th 1676.

Plymouth Colony Cr By Viz.

Ammunission for powder & ball returned as	}	44, 18, 04	}	69, 18, 04
p No 3185				
Biskett dit.		22, 00, 00		
Graine for pease dit.		03, 00, 00		

By Disbursements for Ballance as p bond 11535 fo^t 544 215, 16, 06

The account is thus carried to a later Ledger, which is lost.

MARITIME DEPARTMENT.

The following may show somewhat of the "naval" power of that day, and the methods and means of transporting supplies.

1675	Maritime Disbursements	Dr	
Nov 20	To Peter Treby for frait of the Sloop Primrose		£09, 06, 00
Dec 10	To Israel Nichols for wood for Goodall's Vessel		00, 05, 00
" "	To Stephen Hascott for dammage of the Sloop Swan		03, 10, 00
Feby 29	To Anthony Low for frait		05, 00, 00
1676			
June 24	" Richard Goodall for frait		22, 00, 00
"	" Nehemiah Goodall for Service		05, 10, 00
"	" Pilgrim Simpkin	" "	02, 08, 00
"	" James Twisdell	" "	02, 08, 00
"	" Richard Earle	" "	02, 08, 00
"	" Ezekiel Gardner	" "	02, 02, 00
"	" William Woodbery	" "	05, 10, 00
"	" Anthony Haywood	" "	04, 00, 00
"	" Thomas Moore	" "	10, 00, 00
"	" John Baker	" "	02, 08, 00

Andrew Belcher, of Cambridge, a prominent merchant, with vessels operating between Boston and Connecticut ports, was active in these affairs, but his accounts doubtless fall into a later Ledger.

In the State Archives, in some bills of Benjamin Gillam against the colony, I find the item, Jan'y 10, 1675 :

"To charges on men to cut out Andrew Belcher's Sloop to go to Narragansett, 14s."

Mr. Church speaks of the arrival of Andrew Belcher as opportune in saving the army ; Mr. Dudley says Goodale. Mr. Hubbard's reference to the vessels "frozen in at Cape Cod," causing distress, was, I think, to a later time.

After the return of the army to Mr. Smith's Garrison, the burial of the dead and removal of their wounded to Rhode Island, they spent several weeks parleying with the enemy, watching and recruiting. Major Treat withdrew with his Connecticut forces, against the wishes, it appears, of the General and the other officers, and was later called to account for insubordination. Additional troops were sent down from Boston, and Massachusetts and Plymouth held the field for a month longer ; but their operations and the closing part of this winter campaign, and the new forces engaged, must fall into the next chapter.

Massachusetts afterwards redeemed the promise made to the soldiers at Dedham Plain, and granted to eight hundred and forty claimants, including those of Plymouth, the seven Narragansett townships. Connecticut to her volunteers in the Narragansett was granted the town of Voluntown. (See List in Narragansett Historical Register, vol. i. p. 145, by Hon. Richard A. Wheeler.)

NO. XIV.

CLOSE OF THE NARRAGANSETT CAMPAIGN; THE "HUNGRY MARCH;" CAPT. SAMUEL BROCKLEBANK AND HIS MEN.

AFTER the battle at the Narragansett Fort, several weeks of partial inactivity ensued, while both the English and the Indians were seeking to recover somewhat from the severe blow each had received. The forces of Massachusetts and Plymouth remained at Smith's garrison at Narragansett, while Major Treat with the Connecticut regiment returned to Stonington about December 28th.¹¹⁶

From various sources, the accounts of the most reliable historians of the time, from contemporary letters and notices, we are able to glean some few items indicating the situation of affairs at the seat of war.

The Indians were greatly demoralized and evidently very solicitous as to the immediate future action of our army, as they sent in a delegation to the General on Thursday, December 23d, four days after the fight, ostensibly to negotiate in regard to peace, but in reality, doubtless, to ascertain the strength and intentions of the English. Some of the Indians had returned to their fort upon the retreat of the troops, and it is likely were able to rescue a part of their provisions from the flames, but the main body was gathered into a swamp some three miles distant, while those who had joined the Narragansetts from neighboring tribes returned home. Mr. Dudley wrote that Philip was seen by one of ours with a strong body-guard during or after the battle. If so he must have made a rapid march between that and January 6th, upon which date Governor Andros, of the New York Colony, writes to the Connecticut Governor:

"This is to acquaint you that late last night I had intelligence that Philip & 4 or 500 North Indians fighting men, were come within 40 or 50 miles of Albany northerly, where they talk of continuing this winter; that Phi: is sick, and one Sahamoshu the Comander in chief. Whereupon I have despatched orders theither."

I have found no reliable proof that Philip or his Wampanoag warriors, as a body, had any part in the Narragansett fight, while there

¹¹⁶ In the treasurer's account with Connecticut colony there is a charge "For billiting 49 wounded men 7 days," and as there is no other occasion on which so many were wounded, it is fair to assume that the Connecticut forces did not retire before the 28th.

is some direct testimony that they did not. Indian captives refer the command of the Indians to other chiefs, and a cotemporary writer in the series of letters published in London under the title, "Present State of New England, with respect to the Indian War," says positively, "King Philip hath not yet been at Narraganset, as we feared, but is retired with his Men near Albany where he hath kept his Winter Quarters." This place is since known as Scattacook, and is situated in Rensselaer County, about twenty miles north of Albany.

The great snow-storm that began at the time of the battle and lasted for several days, rendered any movement of the infantry impossible, even if they had been in condition, and then suddenly there came a great mid-winter thaw, which further prevented their motion. Capt. Prentice's troop kept scouting and watching to guard against surprise, and to gather in whatever was possible of their enemy's supplies of corn, of which they obtained quantities. but the provisioning of this large body of men had to be done chiefly by vessels sent from Boston, and by some, at this time, gathering corn along the port towns of Connecticut, as we learn from their archives and from other sources.

On the 27th of December Capt. Prentice with his troop made a march into Pomham's country (now Warwick) and destroyed near a hundred wigwams. December 28th, a squaw captured at the fort was sent to the Indians with an offer of peace, if they would agree to the terms of the former treaty, and such other conditions as the English might impose, and give up all "Philip's Indians." The squaw did not return, but on December 30th a message came from the sachems proffering their thanks for the offer, but complained that the English made war upon them without notice. This Indian owned, as did the squaw, that the Indians lost three hundred of their best fighting men. January 4th, two prisoners were taken, of whom one, being a Wampanoag, was put to death. January 5th, the Indians sent in a captive child, three or four years of age, belonging at Warwick. On the 7th, messengers came from them laying the blame upon Canonchet, who when he had visited Boston and made his treaty with the English, had returned and deceived his people as to the terms; but all these overtures were evidently practised to gain time and take the attention of the English from the real movements of the Indians while they were making ready for their flight to the north-west. On the 8th these were sent back with positive instructions as to terms of peace. On the same day old Ninigret, sachem of the Niantics, sent in declaration and evidence of the reality of his friendship and of the dire straits to which the hostile Indians were reduced. In the mean time the Commissioners of the United Colonies were making every exertion to put a fresh army into the field. As early as December 25th it had been voted to raise one thousand men to recruit the army in the field, and

the first of these were sent out about Jan. 6th¹¹⁷ under Capt. Samuel Brocklebank of Rowley (I think). The weather was extremely cold, and they suffered severely on the march, part of the way through a fierce snow-storm "that bit some of them by the heels with the frost," according to Mr. Hubbard. The writer of "The Present State of New England," the letters above mentioned, says that eleven of the men were "frozen to death, and many others were sick and disheartened." January 10th these recruits arrived at head quarters and were joyfully received.

An order of the Council of Massachusetts, given January 14th, directs Major Gookin "to order the Eastern Souldiers with Horse and Foot, as soon as they come to Cambridge, to march to the army and to put them under such conduct as he sees right, until they get to Narraganset to Major Appleton, sending away with them the Armorer that is there already." On Jan. 17th the Council ordered the Committee of the Army to "forthwith furnish James Foord of Ipswich, a Souldjer under Capt. Brocklebank, now going up under Leut. Swett to Narraganset, with one pr. of good shoos and on good Coate and place it to his acco^t." Ephraim Sawyer and Walter Davis, also, "now going forth to y^e Narraganset," were furnished with apparel. These referred to in the above orders were a second body of recruits that were sent by the Massachusetts Council; the Commissioners having voted on January 6th, that the colonies should have their recruits at head quarters at Smith's Garrison on or before January 20th.

January 12th, a proposition came from the sachems for a cessation of hostilities for a month, which so stirred General Winslow's indignation and convinced him of their treachery, that he determined on a forward move at once, but still felt his force to be too weak in the absence of the promised troops of Connecticut. He fears the foe is escaping, and sends frequent messages to the Commissioners and to Major Treat and the Connecticut Council, to hurry up their preparations.

The Connecticut Colony meanwhile was making every endeavor, the while however being somewhat impatient of the urgency of the General, feeling that their own borders were threatened by the Indians quite as much as the other colonies. Their archives afford ample proof of the thorough and energetic manner of their preparation. Major Treat's reorganized army rendezvoused at New London. From all the settlements recruits and arms and supplies were gathered as speedily as possible, and yet it was not until the 26th of January that their troops started for the field. The following

¹¹⁷ Capt. Brocklebank and the main part of his company probably entered the service January 1st, but did not march to the seat of war until other recruits were ready. January 18th, Capt. Daniel Fisher, of Dedham, has an order from the Council to send all "Horse and foote" that come into Dedham under Lieut. Benja. Swett, "away to y^e Enemy;" and the order shows Dedham to be the common rendezvous of the four counties.

extract relating to the occasion is from a "Letter of Major Palmer of New London to the Governor and Council of Connecticut."

New London y^e 26th Janua: 1675-6

I having this opportunity by Mr Plom, could not omitt acquainting you of Maj^r Treat's departure this day, with all his forces, who is accompanied with Mr. Fitch, Mr Buckley & Mr Wise. They expected to reach Badcock's this night and so get to Mr Smith's tomorrow: For Major Treate hath had two late ord^{rs} from the Generall one rece^d on Lord's day, the other this morning, to hasten his coming: the Indiyans being seated 8 or 10 miles northwest of Providence, and about 25 miles from Mr Smith's. The information was gayned by two Indiyans taken by a party of Capt Prentis' troope, which killed nyne more one escaped there being 12 in that party.

The Barke with the Provisions went out last night and hath had a fayre wind to cary her in today. They have added tenne barreles of meate to the twenty you ordered from Milford: which doth afflict our people more than the trouble of quartering both well and wounded men, which have so impoverished them that sundry will much suffer, without y^e speedy supply of corne for their releife. . . .

In the margin of this letter is added the item,

"Unkas has gone forth in person."

It will be seen by the letter that the march from headquarters was begun on the 26th of January. James Babcock's place was in what is now Westerly, R. I. By good marching they could have reached Smith's Garrison and joined the main army on the evening of the 27th; and thus January 28th must be the earliest date at which we can place the general forward movement of the whole army. The Council orders and references and letters in the Connecticut Colonial Records serve to confirm the account of Mr. Hubbard, although derived from independent sources, and as they give very few items besides, it seems evident that we have all of importance that happened. On January 23d Major Treat wrote to the Connecticut Council, quoting a letter from General Winslow, which he says he has lost, but which contained nothing of importance except to hasten their coming and "grateing on our disorderly retreat," and the good news of the taking of Joshua Tift¹¹⁸ by Capt. Fenner, of Providence. From some Indian prisoners which the Connecticut scouts had taken, it was found that the Narragansetts were lying in small parties along the way leading into the Nipmuck country, and with scouting parties so posted that our army could not surprise their main body.

From a letter of Roger Williams to Governor Leverett, dated Providence, 14 January, 1675, and published in the "Winthrop Papers," vol. 36, p. 307, Coll. Mass. Hist. Society, we learn much about this Joshua Tift, different from the accounts of contemporary

¹¹⁸ Capt. Oliver's letter previously given, as to its facts, was "attested" by this Joshua "Teffe."

historians. Mr. Williams was called upon to take down the examination of Joshua Tift, and afterwards reports the answers to the Governor.

Being questioned by Capt. Fenner, who had captured him, Tift answered that he had been with the Narragansetts about twenty-seven days; that he was captured by Canonchet and his property destroyed, but his life saved on condition that he would become the slave of Canonchet; he accepted the conditions, and was taken to their fort and there compelled to work for the Indians. He testifies that the Mohegans and Pequots with our troops made terms with the Narragansetts at the beginning, and shot over their heads. After the English entered the fort, Canonchet and other sachems fled and halted beside a spruce swamp after crossing a plain. When night came the word was brought to the chiefs, of the English retreat, and they sent back to the fort to ascertain their losses, and found ninety-seven dead and forty-eight wounded, and five or six bodies of the English. He said that the Narragansetts' powder was mostly gone, but that Philip had sent word that he will furnish them enough from the French, who have sent Philip a present, "a brass gun and bandoliers suitable." The sachems are now about ten miles northwest from Mr. Smith's; speaks of the squaw that was sent by the English, but that the sachems believed that the proposals of the English were merely a trap to catch them. Canonchicus was for peace, and would not consent to lie to the English; but his nephew, the young sachem Canonchet (or Nanunteno) was fierce for war, and the young warriors were with him, so that it was impossible to curb them. He speaks of Quaquaekis as Canonchet's chief captain, "a midling thick-set man of a very stout fierce countenance." "He saith that Philip is about Quawpang, amongst a great many rocks by a swamptide; that the Nahigonsiks have bene these 3 days on their march & flight to Philip, that he knows not what number Philip hath with him, & that this day the last and rear of the company departed, that they heard that Gen: was pursueing after them, & therefore several parties, to the number of 400 were ordered to lie in ambuscadoes, that several parties were left behind to get and drive cattell." He also testified that Ninigret's men fought the English in the fort, and that some of the Mohegans have joined the Narragansetts.

This letter throws some light inferentially upon the motions of Philip, whom the Narragansett sachems evidently believed to be at Quabaog. As no mention of him is made by Tift in referring to the fort fight, we have thus strong inferential proof that he was not there.

At last, then, the army being in readiness, began the pursuit of the Indians towards the Nipmuck country, in the somewhat famous march known to the succeeding generations as the "Long March," or the "Hungry March," but of the details of which we have very meagre accounts.

Mr. Hubbard relates that on January 21st Capt. Prentice surprised a party of the Indians, killed nine and captured two, and within two or three days, the weather changing, our forces were very anxious to take the field, hearing, as they did, that the Indians were in full flight. "But so many difficulties were cast in the way that they could not be ready in time to prevent the mischief the Indians did at Warwick. For January 27 they despoiled Mr. Carpenter of two hundred sheep, fifty head of neat cattle and fifteen horses, drove them all away safely and escaped before our forces set out." They wounded two of Mr. Carpenter's people, and one of theirs was slain.

The account of the writer of "The Present State," &c., mentioned above, says:

"The winter being now broken up, the Snow and Ice all gone, our Army, consisting in all of 1600 Men began their March to the Rocks, where the Indians were fled for protection: but in their Way they had Intelligence that 300 Indians had been at Patuxit, an English Plantation on the Narraganset Bay, where they burnt Mr. Carpenter's Corn and Hay and all his houses except his Dwelling-house, which likewise they had set on fire, but it was again quenched by some English that were in it. They likewise drove away with them 180 Sheep, 50 Head of large Cattle and 15 Horses; besides, they took much Cattel from young Mr. Harris, and killed a Negro Servant of his; and having done this Mischief, returned Home with their Booty."

The haste and unreliability of this writer's account is seen in his mixing up of different events, because he goes on from this point to relate the burning of Pomham's town, where they had "a small Reincounter," and "wounded his chief Captain *Quaqualh* on the knee, and killed five of his men, and had four of our Connecticut men wounded;" and then goes on to tell the story of the taking of Joshua Tift, who as we know was taken on January the 14th. This writer says of Tift that he was tried by a "Counsel of War," while he pretended that he was taken prisoner by the Indians and compelled to bear arms in their service, but this was proved to be false (his musket when he was taken was heavily charged with slugs) and "he was condemned to be hanged and Quartered, which was accordingly done." And then the story goes on:

"Our Army beat the Indians from the foresaid Rocks, and pursued them almost as far as Quabog, in which Pursuit we killed about 60 or 70 of them, and found many of the Matts scattered in the Way with which they cover their Houses, which we suppose they could not carry with them by Reason of our close pursuit. Some Prisoners taken from them inform us, that their Body consists of 4000, whereof 1800 were fighting Men, half of which wanted Arms, that they were in great Want of Powder, and greater want of Provisions."

"Provision growing scarce in the Army, and the Enemy having cleansed the Country of Things that might tend to our Relief, our General resolved to pursue them no farther, but to hasten homeward, which accordingly was

done with what speed we could, but the Scarcity of Victuals daily increasing we were forced to kill several of our Horses for Sustenance. Our General dismist the Connecticut Men, and sent them Home the nearest Way, and old Unkus and his Indians along with them. They proved very faithful in our Service, and were well treated by us."

This writer says that a garrison of sixty men was left at Smith's House in Wickford, and that many of our men, including General Winslow, were troubled with the "Flux," and that they marched home by way of Marlborough.

In Mr. Church's account there is a very palpable error in the matter of time, because it gives three months (instead of weeks) as the time of his stay at Rhode Island, thus :

"Mr. Church was moved with other wounded men over to Rhodeisland, where in about three months' time he was in some good measure recovered of his wounds and the fever that attended them ; and then went over to the General to take his leave of him with a design to return home. But the General's great importunity again persuaded him to accompany him in a long march into the Nipmuck country, though he had then tents in his wounds, and so lame as not able to mount his horse without two Men's assistance."

Mr. Church says that the first thing remarkable in this march was their coming to an Indian town of many wigwams, but an icy swamp was between our army and this village, and it was only after much firing on each side that they were able to pass over, whereupon the Indians made good their retreat, the Mohegans in full pursuit. One of these caught a wounded Indian and brought him before the General, where being condemned to die, he managed to escape the blow of the executioner, and Mr. Church then branches off into a long account of an exploit of his own in recapturing him, closing his account of the march which to us now is of such interest, in a simple sentence, saying that in this march they killed many of the enemy, until at length, their provisions failing, they returned home.

Now taking these accounts, with what we are able to glean elsewhere, and it appears that the Indians very skilfully eluded our army, and succeeded in pushing forward all their wounded and helpless to places of safety in the northern tribes, and then when all was ready made a raid upon Patuxit and Providence and the neighboring settlements, and succeeded in carrying off large supplies, without a blow struck against them, except that of Capt. Fenner's party from Providence.

It seems to have been the popular idea that the army of the united colonies, after the junction of the Connecticut troops, numbered about sixteen hundred, horse and foot. I have not been able to find any definite official statement, but as nearly as can be determined from available data, Massachusetts sent out about three hundred fresh troops in January ; Connecticut, including her veterans

and Indian allies, about five hundred; and Plymouth probably about one hundred. With allowance for the dead, wounded and disabled of Massachusetts and Plymouth, about two hundred; sixty left in garrison at Wickford, and there would be, at a rough estimate, fourteen hundred serviceable men at Narragansett on January 28th.

From accounts above given it is impossible to determine the locality of the "Rocks" referred to by the writer of the letters to London above quoted, and by him probably quoted from the testimony of Tift, which seems to have been, at that time, the chief information the English had concerning the Indians. It will be noticed that Tift's evidence is that Philip is "about Quawpaug amongst a great many rocks by a Swampeside," and this may be taken as the supposed objective point or rendezvous of the Indians. The rear guard of the Indians were, at the date of his trial, or when he was captured, prowling about the settlements at Patuxit and Providence for an opportunity to drive off cattle, which purpose they succeeded in carrying out, some days later, when the witness, who in this matter at least had given true testimony, had been "hung and quartered." The route of the main body of the Indians was in a northwest direction towards Quaboag. Rev. J. H. Temple suggests the "Old Narragansett Trail," or "Greenwich Path," through the Wabbequasset country (now Woodstock) to the old Quabaog fort. Capt. Henchman, in the Mount Hope campaign, August, 1675, had marched into the Nipmuck country as far as the "second fort," at a place called "Wapososhequish" (probably Wabbequasset), and then turned aside and marched to Mendon. In a direct line Woodstock is about forty miles from Wickford; by the regular trail it was doubtless much farther. In midwinter, with their scant knowledge of the country, with swollen streams to cross, an alert foe forever vanishing into the great wilderness, and eluding attack or luring to ambuscade, with provisions which the long waiting for Connecticut had served to reduce, their march was a hazardous undertaking, and probably was inspired by the hope of striking a final blow against their enemies, already reduced to great straits for provisions, arms and ammunition. They found "more than sixty horses' heads" at one place, probably at the late rendezvous of the Indians, "25 miles north of Mr. Smith's and 10 miles north of Providence." There seems to have been but one battle worthy of mention, and that is described by Mr. Church as at an icy swamp, and here sixty or seventy were killed; and it seems that the Mohegans and Pequots did most of the fighting and execution here. The capture of the "Matts" referred to, is thought to indicate a Wabbequasset settlement, as these mats were a peculiar covering used by that tribe. I think it possible that the battle was at the old fort of the Indians at Memenimisset.

Finding his provisions growing short, and his men worn with their long march and severe exposure, and seeing no prospect of

bringing the enemy to a battle, General Winslow determined to abandon the pursuit, when the Indians betook themselves to the wilderness beyond Quaboag. I think the march commenced from Wickford on January 28th, and it was probably on February 2d or 3d that the skirmish took place. It would seem that the Connecticut and Indian forces were dismissed as early as February 3d, as they arrived home on the 5th, while the cavalry of Massachusetts and Plymouth got to Boston on the same day, the infantry remaining over at Marlborough, but a part of them marching down to Boston the next day. They were reduced to such straits that they killed and ate many of their horses, and the march was thence called by the people "the Hungry March." I find on the treasurer's books, February 29th, "Edward Cowell Cr for horsmeat £03. 06. 00," as were others. Those that took part in this march were included in the "Narragansett Grantees."

*Joshua B.
Narragansett No. 2.*

CAPT. BROCKLEBANK'S COMPANY.

Samuel Brocklebank, of Rowley, is said to have been born in England about 1630, and to have come to this country with his mother Jane, a widow, and his brother John. Samuel Brocklebank and his wife Hannah had children—Samuel, born 1653; Francis, born 1655; Hannah, Mary, Elizabeth, Sarah, and Joseph who was born 1674. He was appointed deacon of the first church in Rowley in 1665. Elected captain of the Foot Company of Rowley in 1673. Was active in recruiting for the Narragansett campaign, and after the fort fight, on the second call for recruits, went out with a company about January 1st, as I judge from his credits and those corresponding credits of his men, which according to my best estimates were for five weeks, up to February 5th, when they returned to Boston, and reckoned from the time they left Rowley. These are only inferences, however, drawn from the Journal and various casual references, and I have yet found no direct statement as to the officers or men who went out to Narragansett at the second call, and I have not found any mention of Capt. Brocklebank or other officers whom I shall hereafter credit with such service. After the return to Boston, Capt. Brocklebank with his company, within one week, was called to Marlborough, where he was placed in command of the garrisons and military operations, and remained until April 21st (not as some think the 18th), when he marched to Sudbury, where Capt. Wadsworth with his company having joined him, they were ambushed by the Indians, and both captains, with most of their men, were slain. This battle, however, and the affairs at Marlborough, properly fall into the next chapters, in which Capt. Wadsworth and his men are to be given.

After the death of Capt. Brocklebank his widow married Richard Dole, of Newbury. His descendants of the name are quite numer-

ous by his son Samuel and Elizabeth Platts his wife; by his daughters Mary and Sarah, who married William and Henry, sons of Richard Dole; and by his daughter Hannah, who married John Stickney.

Soldiers credited under Capt. Samuel Brocklebank :

February 29 th 1675-6		Francis Gefford	03 18 00
Samuel Mower	01 08 04	Nath. Pease	05 08 00
Joseph Parker	01 10 00	Samuel Hills	02 16 00
Rowland Ravensbee	01 07 04	Simon Groe	03 09 04
John Abbott	01 10 00	Nicholas Richardson	03 09 04
March 24 th 1675-6		Robert Rand	01 10 00
Thomas Stamford	01 10 00	Richard Haven	01 10 00
John Wilson	01 10 00	James Day	01 17 08
Philip Butler	02 01 00	Daniel Hutchins	03 10 00
John Linsy	01 10 00	Samuel Brocklebank Capt.	14 11 00
John Humkins	02 02 00	July 24 th 1676	
Samuel Brocklebank Capt.	07 10 00	John Brown	02 08 00
John Hobson	01 10 00	Nathaniel Stephens	02 09 06
John Woodin	01 16 00	Zechariah Ayres	01 10 00
Benjamin Peirson	01 10 08	Richard Bryan	08 11 00
Daniel Tenny	01 10 00	Thomas Kemball	02 08 00
John Jackson	01 10 00	Philip Kertland	01 12 06
John Wood	01 10 00	John Stanwood	01 02 00
April 24 th 1676		Philip Stanwood	03 08 06
James Ford	01 15 00	Robert Pease	03 12 00
John Giddings	03 00 00	Thomas Baker	05 09 06
Peter Jennings	01 15 00	Benjamin Jones	01 16 00
John Pollard	01 10 10	Joseph Fellows	01 17 00
June 24, 1676		John Lynd	05 09 06
Richard Potter	02 02 00	Joshuah Boynton	05 10 04
Peter Jennings	04 16 00	August 24 th 1676.	
John Lovejoy	01 10 00	Jonathan Fantom	05 10 12
Jonathan Emery	03 12 00	Peter Chever	03 04 00
Josiah Clark	06 06 00	Samuel Perkins	03 18 00
Henry Cooke	00 10 00	Richard Jacob	14 15 10
Samuel Ireson	04 04 00	Sept 23 ^d 1676	
Simon Adams	04 11 08	Richard Prince	02 11 04
Moses Bennett	03 18 10	Samuel Peirce	00 18 00
John Burrell	03 06 00	James Chafe	01 12 06
Thomas Brown	04 03 00	Edward Sewery	02 02 00
John Wood	03 19 08	Michael Derick	10 00 00

Capt. Brocklebank wrote from Marlborough to Gen. Denison, March 26, 1676, asking that he and his company may be relieved to go home, giving his reason that they had been in the country's service "since the first of January at Narraganset, and within one week after their returne were sent out again, having neither time nor money (save a fortnight's pay upon the march) to recruite themselves." Fortunately the Journal contains the credits of these men, seven of whom were paid by Capt. Brocklebank, £00 12 00,

showing that six shillings per week was the wages of a private in the service of Massachusetts Colony at this time; and there is not, that I am aware, any other direct proof of this, or any statement, except that given below, showing the wages of soldiers at that time. My own calculations agree with those of Mr. Sheldon, of Deerfield, that this was the price. This will show the time of their service up to February 5th to be five weeks, and £01 10 00 will represent the wages of those who were discharged at that time, and by this reckoning they entered the service Saturday, January 1st. I think thirty shillings was captains' pay, and Capt. Brocklebank's credit of £7 10 00 covers the same time.

I have found one other confirmation of my own calculations that this was the rate, viz., a bill presented by Serg't Ezekiel Woodward¹¹⁹ of Maj. Appleton's company, in which his pay was for nine weeks as a common soldier, £2 14 00, and he petitions for sergeant's pay. This shows the term of service in the Narragansett campaign to begin Saturday, Dec. 4th, as it closed, we know, on Feb. 5th.

¹¹⁹ Serg't Woodward had been under Maj. Appleton in the Fall Campaign, but in the Narragansett Campaign served in Capt. Garduer's company, and was there credited. Many of the veterans were thus transferred and acted as officers to the newly raised companies, without their rank and pay being officially credited by the Council, as the promotions were made in the field, and the stress of events precluded formalities and details in discipline.

In The Sequoia war The pay of common soldiers was 20 sh. per month, of sergeants 30 sh. per month. Mass. Bay Records, vol. 1, p. 192.

No. XV.

THE GARRISON AT MARLBOROUGH.

OKKOKONIMESIT was what Major Daniel Gookin called, and Ognonikongquamesit was the name by which Mr. Eliot knew, the "Praying Indian Village," situated within the limits of what became the town of Marlborough. The first English settlers went from the parent plantation of Sudbury. The Court's grant to the Indians through Mr. Eliot, in 1654, being prior to that made to the English, the latter found to their disappointment that this Indian reserve, right in the midst of their own grant, must be respected by them if they wished to retain their own rights; for it is to the credit of the Massachusetts Council, that its members were, almost without exception, in favor of upright and humane dealing with the friendly Indians. These Indians above were a branch of the Wamesit tribe, it is said, and had submitted to the Massachusetts Colony as early as 1643, and had received assurance of its protection of their rights. In 1674 this Indian town contained ten families, and about fifty souls. They were self-supporting, peaceable, and were becoming industrious and thrifty, but were evidently regarded with contempt and distrust by many of the neighboring English, who grudged them the possession of their grant of six thousand acres, including some of the best land in the township.

The Indian name of the locality was something like Whipsup-penick, but this became corrupted with the English settlers to "Whipsufferage."

The town was incorporated as Marlborough in 1660. The first actual English settler was John Howe, who settled in 1657-8; and at the division of land in 1660, there were thirty-eight who were then, or soon after, residents.

Rev. Wm. Brimsmead was settled as their minister, and the new plantation flourished fairly until the breaking out of Philip's War. At this time, being a frontier town, it was exposed to attacks from all directions, and being situated upon the road to Connecticut, it

had been regarded by the General Court as a point of military advantage and a fort had been built, and a small garrison was kept there. Upon the outbreak of Philip's War, the retreat of Philip and his followers to the Nipmucks, and the consequent disturbance of the neighboring tribes, the people of Marlborough, under the lead of their minister, met early in October, and adopted measures of defence in addition to that afforded by the garrison which was under the command of Lieut. John Ruddock, of whose conduct of their military affairs, his townsmen, it seems, were jealous; and the people, as was the case generally, were averse to the presence of the soldiers in their houses. After hostilities began, the Praying Indians, who had lived so long beside the settlers, became objects of suspicion and, in many instances, of unreasoning persecutions, in spite of the constant remonstrances of their friends Rev. John Eliot, Major Gookin and the magistrates and leading men generally. Philip used all his powers of persuasion and intimidation to draw these Praying or Christian Indians to his side; but in spite of his arts, and the bitter popular prejudices of the English, and although forced to suffer great injustice and hardships, they were nearly all faithful to their engagements with the Colonists. The "new praying villages," which under Mr. Eliot's efforts were established, in the way of missionary stations, in the vicinity of several neighboring tribes, were broken up by the "rumors of war," and the real converts came with their families into the older villages under the protection of the Colony. The Indian village at Marlborough was increased to about forty men besides women and children, and under the direction of the English they built a fort of considerable strength for themselves, and were furnished with ammunition and some with arms by the government, and others had suitable arms of their own. There is no doubt that these Indians were well disposed and faithful with very few exceptions, and might have been of very great help in all the subsequent movements of the war, if the headstrong prejudices of the people had not frightened and antagonized them in manifold ways. The hostile Indians sought to fix the stigma of their own depredations, often committed for that very purpose, upon the Christian Indians; and the attack upon Lancaster, Aug. 22, 1675, in which seven persons were killed, was attributed to them by "Indian David," who was tied up to a tree and forced to implicate somebody. himself having fallen under suspicion of shooting the Irish shepherd boy at Marlborough just before this. Those whom David particularly accused were the Hassanamesit Indians, now gathered into the Indian fort at Marlborough; and the popular clamor was so loud against them that Lieut. John Ruddock, in command of the garrison at Marlborough, demanded the arms and ammunition of the whole body of Indians to be given up. This demand was quietly acceded to, although there was no evidence against the Indians, and the act was entirely without the sanction of

the Court; but the prejudices of the people were so strong and their clamors so persistent, that Capt. Mosely, then in the vicinity with his company of sixty men, was appealed to, and nothing loth, under cover of his authority, gave the Indian fort up to the plunder and abuse of his soldiery. Fifteen of the Indians were arrested and sent down to Boston, tied neck to neck like galley-slaves, and the integrity of the Council was sorely taxed to keep the rage of the populace from executing these poor creatures without trial; but the law did prevail, and after a long trial and imprisonment at Boston of the eleven (out of the fifteen) who were accused, all were fully acquitted except their first accuser, David, who was condemned for the suspicion as to the shepherd boy and also for his false accusations, and also the Indian Joseph Spoonant, tried by another jury; these two were condemned to be sold out of the country as slaves. This persecution seems to have broken up the Indian settlement at Marlborough.

In the meantime the garrison at Marlborough became a rendezvous for the troops going and coming to and from the western towns, and while it was occupied by soldiers the people felt some degree of security in their homes; but when the companies were drawn off they felt the danger of their exposed condition, and after the disasters of Captains Beers and Lothrop, and the experiences of Springfield, Deerfield, &c., they resolved upon measures for better security. Upon October 1st they were called together, and took action as shown in the following paper preserved in the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 67, p. 277.

Marlborough the : 1 : of October : 1675.

At a meeting of the inhabitants in order to take care for the safty of our town these following proposals were Agreed upon And voluntarily chosen unto that in case of asalt these places heare After mentioned should be defended by the persons that are expressed by name that is in

William Kerly's hous. of the town soulders : 2 : or soulders allowed to the town

John How senior	John ffay	Thomas Marten
Thomas How	Joseph Wait	Thomas King
John Wetherbe	John Mainard	John Brigham

In Serjant Woods his hous of the town Soulders—2—6 of the Newtons, or soulders Allowed to the town

John Woods Junior	Isack How
James Woods	John Bellows
Isack Woods	Samuel Bellows

At Joseph Rices

Samuel Stow	John Barret	Samuel Rice
-------------	-------------	-------------

In John Johnson's hous : 9 : and of the town Soulders 3 :

In Deacon Wards hous of the town soulders—3—or soulders allowed the towne his own family 3

Abraham How	Gershom Yeams
William Taylor	Samuel Ware.

In Abraham Williams his hous of the town soulders—3—or soulders allowed the towne

Richard Barnes
John Rideat Senior

John Rediat Junior
Samuel Brigham

John Rooks.

In Thomas Rices hous of the town soulders—2—or soulders allowed to the town

John Brown John Bowser Peter Rice
Increase Ward Thomas Rice Junior And three men of Peter Bents
To the Leftenant him self and the magazeen : 13 : of the soulders that weare allowed to the town

to John Johnson : 3 :	to Deacon Ward 3
to Serjant Woods }	to Abraham Williams 3
And William Kerly } 4	to Thomas Rice 3

All these men to be maintained in their respective percells by the families In the severall fortifications wheare they are placed.

Also that the Ammunition of the town should be proportioned to the soulders of the town in these fortifications; this Above written is that which Acted and Assented unto by the persons whos names are subscribed.

Mr Brensmead	Thomas Rice	Josias How
Deacon Ward	John Johnson	John Mainard
Thomas King	Samuel Rice	John Rediat
Solomon Johnson	John Bellows	John ffay
Abraham How	Nathaniel Johnson	Moses Newton
John How senior	John Woods Junior	Richard Barnes
John Woods senior	Joseph Newton	James Taylor
Richard Newton	Thomas Barnes	William Kerly
Abraham Williams		

This Above written was the Act of the town Agreeing with the Act of the Comettee of melects as Attest
William Kerly—clarke

That this action was somewhat in opposition to the wishes of the military officer of the garrison, Lieut. John Rudduck, is proved by his letter below, from Vol. 68, p. 4 :

Letter of Lieut. John Rudduck to the Council.

For the honored Councell

Honored Sirs. After my humble Duty p^rsented these are to informe the honored Councill that Capt. Pool have sent to me four times for things spesefied in the note inclosed which I had none of but bread and liquors w^{ch} he have had but the other things I have none of and now the Rum is all gon he have had seven gallons of Rum all Redy and the souldirs and posts passage to and agen and the army have had the Rest allsoe our men at the garison want shoos and stockins and shurts very much they complaine to me dayly to goe home and suply themselves but I dare not let them goe becaus sum have gon on that acount and Com not againe namly John Bondage of Roxbury and John Orres a smeth of Boston and on Samuell Castin is Run away I sent to M^r Davison to aquaint athority with it but I heare noe more of it heare is but littell of anythinge Left in the Magaseen and if it please the hono^d Councell to give me order to remove what is left to my hous it would be less trouble to me and if anything be sent I may have it heare at my own hous I have set the garison soulders to fortify about my hous now they have fortified the Magaseen all Ready by my order and soe I intend to imply them for the defense of the Town I humbly pray this honored Councell to send a suply for the soulders heare and at quo-

boag or derection how they shall be suplyed. Capt. Wayt comanded me to returne James Cheavers for absenting himself after he had prest him whom I have sent to make his own defence. Your humble Servant,

Marlborough Octob: y^e 1st, 1675.

JOHN RUDDUCK.

Sum of the gareson souldirs Informed me when I was geting to seale my letter that the Constable had been this morning and warned the soulders to com to me for theire vectls for the Town would diet them no longer I desire derection in this case and allsoe that he had ward them that did quarter them to quarter them no more

JOHN RUDDUCK.

I am of Nesessity constrained to provid victles for them till I heare from the Councell how they will order it.

Capt. Poole's requisition, enclosed in the above letter.

To the Comisary at Malbery Sur we want drawers and wastcoats and I am forsed to let men goe home to fetch clothing becas they want and have no supply Sur I pray send sum soft tobacow and bred by thos persons I pray send me the runlit of lickours for the army will drene us doutles not els but rest yours

date 30: 7th: '75

JONATHAN POOLE Capt.

Another letter from him is in Mass. Archives, Vol. 67, p. 279:

Second Letter of Lieut. John Rudduck to the Council.

For the honoured Governor & Council.

Honored Sir After my humble Duty p^rsented these are to signify to this honored Councel that upon hearinge the Councell was Informed the Constable had forbed the men that were quartered in the town and sent them to me for quarter sum cam to me this morninge and threatened me if the men were taken away I should Answer it and many threateneinge words and many were gathered together about it I understand great Complaints are like to be made against me to the Councell but I hope the honoured Councell will have Charity for me till I can com to Answer for myself: in Regard to the charge of the town and of the Country. I cannot with convenience come down the charge of the mageseen beinge committed to me tronbles me very much they are offended that I bringe the souldiers to meetinge with me and say I must have soe many men to gard me it well known to many that it have bene my practise ever since I have had a family I use to have them to meetinge with me I thinke it my duty having a garison of Souldiers to have them to meeting with mee allsoe I seet sum of them the on half to gard the Town in the forenoon and the other in the Afternoon and them that do not ward I have to meeting with me: when we met together to apoynt houses to be ffortified I would have had houses apoynted and men apoynted to these houses but the Insign would not yeald to that but would have the town caled together to see what houses they were willinge to goe to and to fortify soe the designe was that my house should not be ffortified nor have any gard if danger be they themselves will have the Inhabitants to gard their houses but if I have any I must have of the soulders and be at Charges to maintaine them myself I have propounded to them that the Inhabitants be equally devided to the houses that are to be garded and the garison soulders divided likewise but they would not yeld to that soe unless the honoured Councell be plesed to determin this thinge it will not be determined sum have man-edged their maters soe that I have Leetle or noe comand of the Inhabitants of the town the sum of all is there are that cannot swolow that pill

that I should have so much trust and pour commeted to me soe I desire to
 leve myself with God and this honored Councill The pore leve themselves
 with God

Your humble Seruant

Marlborough this 4 Octo 1675

JOHN RUDDUCK.

When the army returned from the Narraganset campaign, and most of the troops were discharged at Boston, Feb. 5, 1675-6, we learn from Gen. Gookin's "History of the Christian Indians" that Capt. Wadsworth with his company was left at Marlborough "to strengthen that frontier." He remained there until early in March, when the newly levied army was gathered there under the command of Major Thomas Savage, and was organized under the immediate personal inspection of Maj. Gen. Daniel Denison. It was at this time that Capt. Mosely's haughty and unrebuked insubordination, backed up by the lawless, Indian-hating element of the army, occurred and gave the commanders so much difficulty; for when Job Kattenanit, a friendly Indian, whose fidelity had been proved by successful and faithful report of the condition of the hostile Indians, to whom he with James Quannapohit had been sent as a spy, and in order to keep faith with the English, had left his wife and children in the hands of the hostiles and returned to our army, bringing information which, if it had been heeded, would have saved great destruction and suffering,—when this man had been given a permit to go and bring in his family, who were to meet him on a certain day, Capt. Mosely raised such a hue and cry, that the commanders were obliged to submit, and sent after him at once.

The course of events in the town, including the attack, is shown in the following letters:

Capt. Brocklebank's Letter to the Council.

Much Honnored sirs.

Malborough 28 of : 1 : 1676

After the duty I owe unto your Honnor this may let you understand that the assault the enemy made upon the towne of Malborough upon sabbath day did much dammage as the inhabbitants say, to the burning of 16 dwelling houses besides about 13 barnes and seemingly did indeaver to draw out the men out of the garisons but we not knowing ther numbers and our charge of the Countries ammunition and provission durst not goe out then on Sabbath day night there came about 20 men from Sudbury and we out of the severall garrison drew out about twenty more and in the night they went out to see if they could discover the enemy and give theme some checke in ther proceeding who found them laid by ther fires and fired on them and they run away at present but the number being few and not knowing the number of the enemie but apprehending by ther noyse and firing at them they indeavored to compass them in the returne home without any losse of any man or wound from the enemie only one of my men by the breaking of his gun his hand is sorely shattered which for want of helpe here I have sent to Charlestowne or elsewhere in the bay where your honnors may thinke best for his helpe: we have great cause to acknowledge the goodnesse of God toward us for his gracious preservation of us the enemye is gone at the p'sent as we apprehend by the scouts that went

out yesterday the which we may expect eare long will fall on us with greater strength and rage by reason of the breakfast that they had on Monday morning the scouts found only one indian dead thus in brieve your honnors will understand how it is with us: from him who is your honnors servant

SAMUELL BROCKLEBANKE Capt

Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 180.

General Daniel Denison's Letter.

St.

Yesterday I received a letter from Capt. Brocklebanck at Marlborough signifying his desire of being dismissed with his company the reasons he alleadges are 1. their necessities & wants having beene in the countreyes service ever since the first of January at Narriganset & within one weeke after their return were sent out againe having neither time nor money (save a fortnights paye upon their march) to recruite themselves 2. he saith they doe little where they are: & he understands the are called off by the Council. I shall make bould to request the like favor in the behalfe of those (at least) some of those troopers & dragoons of Essex that went out last, intended for Hadley but by reason of the disaster at Groton diverted to Concord &c. to beate of & prosecute the enemy in those parts and I directed orders to Major Willard, that with those he first tooke up wth him & then sent, together with the garrisons at Marlborough Lancaster & Chelmsford (if need more) in all above 200 men he might not only defend the townes but might prosecute the enemy to his being with 2 dayes march, but I heare of no such attempt nor indeed of any considerable improvement of them that hath beene, or is like to be. I am therefore sollicitous for many of them that out of a respect to myself went willingly, hoping of a speedy returne to their families and occasions some of them more than ordinary great and urgent I intreate therefore they may be p^resently considered & eased to attend the seed time &c. and if there be necessity that others may be sent in their roomes, who may with far less detriment be spared. The stockade from Watertowne to Wamesit, might better be from Watertowne to Sudbury river 9 miles taking in more country, & that river being as good a stop as the stockade the greatest objection is Merrimack river though broad yet I understand is fordable in 20 places betweene Wamesit & Haveril, & cannot be safe without guards w^{ch} must be kept upon it. for hast I Jumble many things, w^{ch} be pleased to pardon The Lord Look in mercy upon his poore distressed people upon your selves in particular so prayes

your humble Servant

Ips. March 27: 1676

DANIEL DENISON.

The inclosed are certificates of delinquents on the last press in Norfolk & of the troopers that should have gone with Capt Whipple to Hadley

Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 179.

First Letter of the Council to Lieut. Jacob.

Left Jacob. The Council having lately received Information of Gods further frowne upon us in taking in depriving the Country both of y^r Capitaine and Capt Wadsworth wth severall others by permitting the enemy to destroy them yesterday so y^t y^r Capt. Brocklebanke's chardge is devolved on y^rself The Councel judge meet to leave the souldiers under his charge

to yo^r care and chardge, and doe order you to take the care and chardge of the sayd Company that you be vigilant & diligent in that place & as seasonably & speedily as you cann to give Information to y^e Councel of the state, numbers & condition of y^r souldiers in that Garrison under y^r command desiring God's Gracious & blessing to be wth you. Remyne
yo^r loving freinds

Boston 22 Aprill 1676

EDW. RAWSON, *Secretary*
by Order of the Council

Postscript. you are alike ordered to take care & command of the place (ie) Marlborow to preserve it what in you lyes.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 222.

EDW. RAWSON, *Secretary*
like order

Lieut. Richard Jacob's First Letter.

from Malbary y^e 22 April 1676.

Hono^d Sirs This morning aboute Sun two hours high y^e Enimie Alarmed us by firing & Shooting towards y^e Lowermost Garason Next Sudbury, which made us feare y^t Garason to be in Danger which shooting we afterward understood was y^e Enimie killing off Cattle. Some after they gave a shout & Came in sight upon y^e Indian hill great Numbers of them & one as theire accustomed maner is after a fight, began to signifie to us how many were slaine. They Cohoop'd seventy-four times, which we hoped was only to affright us seing we have had no intelegence of any such thing, yet we have Reason to feare the worst Considering Theire Numbers which we apprehended to be five hundred at y^e least others Thinke a thousand y^e most of y^{em} hasted toward y^e Northwest side of y^e towne firing y^e Remainder of y^e Garason houses & others y^t were deserted as they went: they have been hunting in al quarters of y^e towne to kill & take what Cattle were without Comand of y^e four Garasons That yet Remain. Several of y^e furthestmost houses of this town next Sudbury have bin fired now toward Night which gives Reason to Thinke that y^e Enimie is not yet Departed from us: Thus I thought it my Duty to give a brieft account of y^e present proceedings of y^e Enimie: to your Honoures Leaving itt with your wisdoms Consideration.

Being pardon for This my Bouldnes I Remaine your Honoures

Humble Servant

RICHARD JACOB.

[Attached to the above letter is Secretary Rawson's Copy of an Order of the Council, as follows:]

Leftenant Jacob, yesterday upon the Councils having the sad intelegence of y^{or} Capt. & Capt. Wadsworths death ordered your taking the charge of the souldgers at Malborough since w^{ch} I received your of 22 Apr. giving intelegence of the enemyes infesting y^{or} quarters & apearance in a boddy of at least 500 & these wasting by fyers what they can come at so driving cattle. yesterday was ordered eighty troopers to advance to observe the motions of the enemy y^{or} twoe souldgers retorne wth a p^{ty} of horse to Sudbery & so with these to you I desyer your vigilance & care for the preserving your men & what is under your charge & you shal have ffurther orders so soone as the Councell meete, desyryng Gods presence with and assistance of you,

23, 2, 76.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 223.

Lieutenant Richard Jacob's Second Letter.

Marlborough 24. April 1676.

Honoured Sirs, Having now Received Information of God's further frowns on y^e Country In Suffering two Such worthy Captaines to fall before y^e Enimie whome we might have hop^d to have bin Instruments of more good in these troublous times: But In this God's will is Done.

Receiving an Order from your Honours wherein your Honours are pleased to Devolve y^e charge and betrustment of our late Capt. Brocklebanke upon me, for which I am sensible of my Inefficiency & Incapacity, yet Since tis your Honours pleasure, to Require me to Certifie your Honours of y^e state of y^e soldeirs & of y^e place. That I shall Readily, here is Remaining of our Company about forty-six, Several whereofe are young soldiers left here by Capt Wudsworth being unable to march. The Towne is wholly consumed Excepting four Garasons that were man'd when the Enimie was last with us, all y^e cattle without Reach of The garasons are Lost: one of y^e Garason Houses which was Judg'd to be most fitt by our Captaine: who your Honours did apoynt to order according to his Discretion for a stated garason now burnt by Reason off y^e Inhabitants not attending thereunto Every one being Careful to Secure his private Interest, here is only Remaining These two houses where the Magazine Lyes That are in a Capacity to assist each other. y^e other two Lying att a greater Distance with other Inconveniences. May it please your Honours further to Order of y^e state of our Company being Generally such as live upon Husbandry & seed time being now far spent which may be prejudiciall to ourselves & others if y^e season so slipt. But I shall leave that to your Honours Consideration only begging pardon for my bouldnes I Rest your Honours Servant to my utmost ability

RICHARD JACOB

Postscript: Some of y^e principle of y^e Towns men In the behalfe of y^e Rest y^t are yet Remaining which are but few Would Desire your Honours to Consider their present Condition being altogether incapable for Remaining without assistance both with Carts & a Guard They are destitute of Carts Their Teames being at Sudburie & not Daring to Returne. Removing of theire goods if your Honours see meete to Grant it or otherwise willing to refer their loss to your Honours further Consideration.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 227.

Most of the inhabitants deserted their farms after the destruction of the town on March 26th, 1676, and with the exception of a few families who remained for a time in the garrisoned houses, the families came to the towns nearer Boston, and returned only after the war was over. The garrison was maintained until the close of the war, and was an important rendezvous for the forces.

Soldiers Credited with Military Service at the Garrison at Marlborough

September 21st 1675October 19th 1675

Darby Morris	01 13 04	James Cheevers	02 14 00
John Dunster	02 00 00	Thomas Turner	02 12 00
William Turner	01 19 04	William Blackwell	03 02 06
Thomas Owen	04 13 04	Henry Gibbs	03 07 00
Joseph Barber	02 14 00	Richard Roberts	04 04 00

November 20 1675			Richard Roberts	02 16 06
Timothy Laskin	04 13 04		William Turner	04 16 00
William Ferman	02 08 00		February 29, 1675-6	
Samuel French	03 00 00		Robert Rownden	07 04 00
Richard Young	03 12 00		Thomas Owen	02 18 02
Daniel Roff	03 02 00		William Farman	03 17 00
Jacob Adams	04 13 04		Gustin John	01 19 04
Jonathan Jackson	04 13 04		March 24 th 1675-6	
Daniel Weight	04 13 04		Richard Young	00 13 00
John Figg	01 10 00		April 24 th 1676	
John Broughton	02 12 02		Thomas Hopkins	00 09 00
January 25 th 1675-6			Benjamin Parmater	02 03 08
John Baker	03 08 06		June 24 th 1676	
Richard Young	03 06 00		Daniel Weight	02 09 08
Henry Gibbs	02 19 00		Thomas Dennis	01 05 06
John Nash	00 18 00		July 24 th 1676	
Jonathan Jackson	01 05 08		Timothy Laskin	02 09 08
Obadiah Searle	06 08 00		John Burges	03 00 10
Daniel Davison,			September 23 ^d 1676	
Commissary,	05 14 00		Morgan Jones	08 02 00
Jonathan Orris	03 12 00		Joseph Davis	06 00 00

NO. XVI.

CAPT. SAMUEL WADSWORTH AND THE SUDBURY FIGHT.

THE last chapter closed the account of affairs at the garrison at Marlborough during and immediately after the fight at Sudbury, with the letters of Lieut. Richard Jacob, upon whom the command of the garrison devolved after Captain Brocklebank's death. And it is well to bear in mind that, between the time of the requests of Gen. Denison and Capt. Brocklebank, that the garrison might be relieved to go home, &c., and these letters of Lieut. Jacob, the new army under Major Savage had marched out from Marlborough to the Connecticut River, driving the main body of the hostile Indians beyond that river, as was supposed, but as was found afterwards, leaving a great number gathered near Mount Wachuset. After operating till about March 28th in defence of the western towns, he was ordered to leave one hundred and fifty men under command of Capt. Turner, and return home as far as Marlborough, and await further orders. By an order of the Council, passed April 10th, 1676, Major-Gen. Denison was to meet and dispose the returning troops at Marlborough.

In the mean time the Indians, closely watching the movements of our forces, and alert to strike at every exposed point, on Sunday, March 26th, attacked Marlborough, as we see by Capt. Brocklebank's letter, and burned a large part of the town. The garrisons were unable, or feared, to attack them in force; but that night Lieut. Jacob of Capt. Brocklebank's company, with twenty of his men and twenty volunteers coming up from Sudbury, followed and surprised the Indians sleeping by their fires, and killed some of them, though it is not known how many. Mr. Hubbard says they wounded thirty, fourteen of whom died the same day or soon after, and popular rumor, as usual, exaggerated the number, and in this case made it seventy. It is necessary now to go back and bring the personal account of Capt. Wadsworth up even with the general matters related above.

Capt. Samuel Wadsworth was the son of Christopher, who came from England in the ship *Lion*, it is said; was settled in Duxbury in 1632 with wife Grace, and had four children, who in their mother's will, 1688, are named in the order—Joseph, Samuel, Mary and John, and the last was born 1638.

Capt. Samuel moved to Milton about 1656 and selected a large tract of land in the centre of that town, and settled there with his wife Abigail, daughter of James Lindall, of Duxbury. Their children, born between 1659 and 1674, were Ebenezer, Christopher, Timothy, Joseph, Benjamin, Abigail, whose descendants have honored the name in their generations.

Agreeably to the order of the Commissioners of the United Colonies to raise one thousand men to continue the war against the Indians, passed at Boston, December 25th, Massachusetts on the 28th issued orders for impressing three hundred men forthwith; Essex 105, Middlesex 83, Suffolk 112. See Mass. Archives, vol. 68, p. 107—the time and place of rendezvous being January 5th, at Dedham, as we learn from the Archives, vol. 68, p. 112.

Of the recruits that were sent out at this time, Capt. Samuel Brocklebank, of Rowley, was in command of one company, the account of which was in the last chapter; and Capt. Samuel Wadsworth, the subject of the present chapter, commanded another. There is no published reference to such service by these officers, and only the casual mention in Gen. Gookin's account of the "Praying Indians," and by the writer of the pamphlet "News from New England," to the effect that, when the army returned to Marlborough, and the rest of the forces were dismissed, "Capt. Wadsworth with his company was left at Marlborough." The garrisons from all the frontier towns, save such as the inhabitants furnished, had been withdrawn by an order of the Council, January 14th.

There is no mention of either of the above officers until the return to Marlborough, and therefore our account of Capt. Wadsworth and his company must begin there; they having taken part in the "Hungry March" from Narraganset, were now left to bear the brunt of any attack the Indians might make upon the frontiers.

On February 6th the Council issued an order to Major Appleton, then at Marlborough with the returned army, to dismiss the soldiers to their several homes, "as soone as the Sabbath is past." But it will be remembered that Gen. Winslow, now in command of the army, and under the pressure of the lack of provisions, would scarcely wait for this order, and probably marched to Boston on February 5th, with at least a large proportion of his army. Rev. Increase Mather, living in Boston at the time, and deeply interested in all these affairs, writes in his history: "Feb. 5th, the Army returned to Boston not having obtained the end of their going forth;" while the anonymous contemporary writer of the pamphlet above mentioned, states that "Major Gen. Winslow only with his Troops

(marched) to Boston, leaving the Foot at Malbury and South-bury, who came home on Munday following and were all dismissed to their several Habitations except Capt. Wadsworth, who was left at Malbury in pursuit of the Enemy of whom he destroyed about 70 Old Men Women and Children, who wanted strength to follow the fugitive Army."¹²⁰ Hull's treasury accounts agree with this date of the disbanding of the army, so that Capt. Wadsworth's operations on the frontiers with his headquarters at Marlborough, began doubtless on the same day.

On February 10th a large body of Indians fell upon Lancaster and burned near half the town, consisting of about fifty families, but succeeded in capturing only one of the garrison houses, of which there were several. The one captured was that of Rev. Joseph Rowlandson, who was himself absent at the time in Boston, seeking assistance from the Council for the threatened town. The house was sufficiently garrisoned, but the enemy succeeded in setting fire to the rear portion, and forced all within to surrender or die, as the house was quickly burnt to the ground. Forty-two persons were thus made prisoners, most of whom were women and children. As soon as the news of this attack upon Lancaster reached Marlborough, Capt. Wadsworth mustered a company of about forty men of his garrison and hastened to the rescue of the remaining part of the town. On one side the Indians had cut off the approach of assistance, as they supposed, by tearing off the planks from the bridge; but the English readily repaired this and passed over, and by a secret way were led into the town, where they succeeded in driving off the enemy.

During the rest of this month Capt. Wadsworth and his men were employed scouting along the frontiers, with headquarters chiefly at Marlborough, I think, where Capt. Brocklebank was in command, whose company, dismissed on February 5th, had been called again into service upon the news of the assault upon Lancaster. An order of the Council, dated February 11th, appoints Capt. Samuel Wadsworth; Robert Badeocke, Sergeant; and "those that are at present selectmen" a council of militia for Milton; and this would seem to indicate the design of the Council to keep Capt. Wadsworth upon the home frontiers, as will further appear.

¹²⁰ This writer is unreliable in his account of the war, and in attributing this last exploit to Capt. Wadsworth undoubtedly confuses things in mixing the rescue of Lancaster by him with the midnight surprise of Indians March 27th, by Lieut. Jacob. But while his direct statements are to be received with caution, his casual references are valuable as hints of existing facts which others do not mention, and many of which, confirmed by evidence gleaned from the Archives, throw light upon things which have hitherto been entirely unknown in history; for instance, this reference to Capt. Wadsworth, together with Major Goodin's mention, is the only hint, in published accounts, that connects him with the Narraganset campaign, and in these references there is only inferential evidence, and in regard to Capt. Brocklebank there is absolutely no reference until the present investigations based upon Treasurer Hull's accounts; but following up the clues, there is plenty of evidence in the Archives of these officers and others having had part in this campaign, that have never been mentioned in connection with it.

When, on the first of March, the newly levied army was being organized at Marlborough for operations in the west, Capt. Wadsworth was there with his company, and was sent out by the General to recall Job Kattenanit upon the occasion detailed in the last chapter.

In making up the army the General made a selection of the best soldiers out of all at his disposal, and among other changes, transferred a part of Capt. Wadsworth's company to Capt. William Turner, who led out a company in this expedition to the west.

A letter from William Torrey to the Council, dated March 7th, expresses gratitude for the assistance rendered by the Council in defence of the towns of Milton, Braintree, Weymouth and Hingham, and says that the Major General has "ordered the remaynder of Capt. Wadsworth and Capt. Jacobs forces to be a guard to our townes," &c.; and that Capt. Wadsworth and his men shall be a guard to Milton, Braintree, &c.

The credits in Hull's account indicate the discharge of the remainder of the company about the 7th or 8th of March, and thereafter they were employed as home-guards, and supported by their respective towns, and there is no further mention of service by Capt. Wadsworth during the next month, the operations in the western towns engrossing all the energies of the colonies and all the attention of the people. The soldiers are credited with service up to this time, and thus properly the names and credits are given in this place.

Credited under Capt. Samuel Wadsworth.

February 29, 1675-6.		Robert Braine	02 14 00
Henry Pellington	00 12 00	Samuel Wadsworth, <i>Capt</i>	15 00 00
Robert Miller	01 01 04	James Ford	02 15 08
John Rowston	01 01 04	Peter Roberts	01 18 06
Stephen Fielder	01 01 04	Robert Corbett	02 06 02
March 24 th 1675-6.		Henry Ledebetter	02 11 00
John Starr	02 08 00	Robert Parker	02 14 10
Nathaniel Jewett	02 02 02	Timothy Tilston	02 05 00
John Hunt	04 02 03	John Sharp	03 15 00
James Hadlock	03 04 00	June 24 th 1676.	
Thomas Vos, <i>Lieut</i>	07 10 00	George Ripley	02 06 02
Ebenezer Williams	02 11 00	Robert Munson	03 06 00
Richard Evans	02 14 10	Robert Judd	01 11 06
William Scant	02 14 10	John Hands	02 07 00
John Horsington	02 14 10	John Adis	02 08 00
John Trescott	00 18 10	Ephraim Pond	02 08 00
Timothy Wales	02 04 06	Jonathan Gray	02 08 00
William Deane	03 12 00	Abraham Hathaway	02 08 00
Martho Hurley	02 07 02	Richard Evans	01 14 02
James Stuart	03 15 09	John Redman	02 14 10
Thomas Woods	02 10 06	James Badcock	03 03 00
April 24 th 1675.		Thomas Beetle	02 04 10
James Dolvine	02 07 02	Thomas Mory	02 08 00
Jacob Leonard	02 09 08	Thomas Lawrence	02 03 08

John Baker	03 18 08	John Alger	02 08 00
Thomas Williams	02 08 10	Jeremiah Hood	02 08 00
John Poole	02 09 08	Robert Mutson	02 08 00
Joseph Bosworth	02 15 08	Samuel Gill	02 09 06
Robert Milton	02 15 08	August 24 th 1676.	
Isaac Lobdell	02 15 08	John Angell	03 12 00
William Hooper	02 15 08	Jonathan Dunning	08 19 00
William Lyon	01 10 00	Edward Mortmore	02 08 00
James Badcock	00 09 00	Samuel Nicholson	01 07 04
John Thare	02 14 10	Edward Samson	02 08 00
July 24 th 1676.		Sept. 23 ^d 1676.	
Paul Gilford	02 09 06	John Tuckerman	00 12 00
Josluah Lane	05 14 00		

THE SUDBURY FIGHT.

Upon the disbanding of the army under Gen. Winslow, as noted in the first of this chapter, the Indians began to gather in towards the frontier towns in large numbers, evidently elated at the apparent inability and supposed discouragement of the English. Upon April 18th they came upon Marlborough again, and burned the houses they had left in the former attack. They hovered about the town for two days, evidently seeking to draw out the soldiers from the garrisons and away into an ambush, according to their usual mode of warfare. They did not dare to engage the garrisons, however, or to come within range of the guns, but having invested the town with small parties set in ambush to guard the roads and prevent messengers or relief passing to and fro, they began to creep slowly in about Sudbury upon Thursday, April 20th. In the mean time, according to the best evidence of the best accounts from contemporary sources (always excepting the very evident mistake of Mr. Hubbard in regard to the date), Capt. Wadsworth, with a company of some fifty or more men, marched out of Boston towards Marlborough upon the same day, expecting to make up the company to one hundred with the quotas of the Middlesex towns, but did not have over seventy probably on his arrival at Marlborough, which it was the design that he should relieve with the company of one hundred men impressed¹²¹ for the purpose, of whom not more

¹²¹ Upon the alarm from Marlborough on the 18th, the Council immediately ordered a company of men impressed, forty-six of whom were to be furnished by the Major of Suffolk, Thomas Clarke, as shown by the following paper:

"Whereas there was a warrant issued forth By the Honor^d Major Clarke for the Impressing of forty-six men wth fire arms and ammunition and directed to the Committee of Militia of Boston and the Committee ordered 5 men out of Capt. Thomas Clarke his company in order thereunto there were Impressed on y^e 19th of Aprill 1676

- (1) Aaron Stephens who slipped aside as soon as ever spoken to and could not be found any more.
- (2) Philip Cain who said he would go to the Governour to be cleared but afterwards could not be found.
- (3) James Burges who could not be seen by us after notis given that he should attend y^e countreys servis.
- (4) Thomas Wats who pretended to goe home to put on his clothes and came not again neither could he be found though there were severall messengers to seek him.

than seventy appeared, and these, many of them, mere boys. They marched through Sudbury in the evening of the 20th, and without any sign of attack from the great body of Indians lying about the town and its approaches, arrived in Marlborough near midnight, where, learning that the enemy had gone towards Sudbury, Capt. Wadsworth, after a brief stop and slight reorganization of his company, leaving some of the boys that were unable to march at the garrison, and doubtless taking some fitter men in their places, and being joined by Capt. Brocklebank, who apparently started for Boston, being relieved of his charge at the garrison by the coming of Capt. Wadsworth, with this company he marched hastily back towards Sudbury.

While this company were thus marching to and from Marlborough, the enemy were gathering more closely about Sudbury, as the following account, contained in the petition of the inhabitants who suffered loss in the attack, shows. The paper has been buried in the old court files for more than two hundred years, and was discovered by the writer just in time for insertion in this chapter. This paper gives much new material in regard to the fight, and incontrovertible contemporary testimony that the fight occurred on the 21st of April.

To y^e Hon^{ble} Governou^r Dept Govern^r Magistrates and Deputies of y^e Gen^l
Court assembled at Boston y^e 11th October 1676

The hum^{ble} Petition of y^e poore distressed Inhabitants of Sudbury Humbly Sheweth. That Whereas yo^r impoverished Petition^{rs} of Sudbury have received intelligence of a large contribution sent out of Ireland¹²² by some pious & well affected p^{rs}ons for y^e releife of their brethren in New England distressed by y^e hostile intrusion of y^e Indian Enemy, and that upon this divers distressed townes have presented a list of their losses sustained by fireing and plundering of their Estates. Let it not seeme presumption in yo^r poore petitioners to p^{rs}ent a list of what damages we sustained by y^e Enemyes attempts hoping that o^r lott will be to be considered among our brethren of the tribe of Joseph being encouraged by an act of our Hon^{ble} Gen^l Court that those who have sustained considerable damage should make address to this p^{rs}ent Session. And is there not a reason for our releife? Not only by reason of Our great losses but alsoe for Our Service p^{rs}formed in repelling y^e Enemy! Let y^e Most High have y^e high praise due unto him; but let not y^e unworthy Instruments be forgotten. Was

(5) Thomas Smith who marched according to order.

As Attesteth Thomas Clarke Capt. (Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 234.)

Another paper is preserved relating to the same matter :

" 11th 2^{mo} 1676 Impressed by virtue of an ord^r from Maj^r Tho : Clarke for y^e countreys
servis

John Pittam } who sayde they would be hanged drawne and quartered Rather then
Rob^t Miller } goe or words to thatt effect

Francis Hudson Clerk
Jacob Fernside."

Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 216.

¹²² See article on "The Irish Donation of 1676," by Charles Deane, LL.D., in the REGISTER, vol. ii. pp. 245-50.

there with us any towne so beset since y^e warre began, with twelve or fourteen hundred fighting men various Sagamores from all Parts with their men of Armes & they resolved by our ruin to revenge y^e releife which Our Sudbury volunteers afforded to distressed Marlborough in slaying many of y^e Enemy and repelling y^e rest. The strength of our towne upon y^e Enemy's Approaching it consisted of Eighty fighting men. True many houses were fortified & Garrison'd, & tymously after y^e Enemy's invasion, and firing some Volunteers from Watertowne, & Concord & deserving Capt: Wadsworth with his force came to Our releife, which speedy & noble service is not to be forgotten. The Enemy well knowing our Grounds, passes, avenues, and Scituations had neare surrounded Our towne in y^e Morning early (wee not knowing of it) till discovered by firing severall disserted houses: the Enemy with greate force & fury assaulted Deacon Haines House well fortified yet badly scituated, as advantageous to y^e Enemys approach & dangerous to y^e Repellant, yet (by y^e help of God) y^e garrison not onely defended y^e place from betweene five or six of y^e clock in y^e Morning till about One in y^e Afternoon but forced y^e Enemy with Considerable slaughter to draw-off.

Many Observables worthy of Record hapned in this assault, Viz^t That noe man or woman seemed to be possessed with feare; Our Garrison men kept not within their garrisons, but issued forth to fight y^e Enemy in theire sculking approaches: Wee had but two of our townesmen slaine, & y^t by indiscretion, none wounded; The Enemy was by few beaten out of houses which they had entered and were plundering; And by a few hands were forced to a running flight which way they would; The spoyle taken by them on y^e East side of y^e river was in greate p^{te} recovered.

Furthermore p^rmitte yo^r humble Petition^{rs} to present a second Motion, And let it be acceptable in y^e eyes of this our Grand Court Vizt.

That whereas by an Act of Our late Gen^l Court Tax rates are leavied upon Our towne amounting to £200 (as appeareth p^r Warrant from Our Treasurer, which said sum^m was leavied by Our Invoice taken in y^e yeare before Our greate damage susteyned. It is y^e humble & earnest request of yo^r Petition^{rs} to commiserate Our Condition in granting to us some abatement of y^e said sum^m, for y^e ensuing considerations, Viz^t first Our towne to pay full for their Rates then taken, which in greate p^{te} they have now lost by the Enemys invasion may seeme not to savour of pitty no not of equity. Secondly if y^e Service p^rformed at Sudbury (by y^e help of y^e Almighty) whereby y^e Enemy lost some say 100, some 105, some 120, and by that service much damage prevented from hapⁿing to other places whereby y^e Country in generall was advantaged, reason requires some favorable consideration to yo^r Servants of Sudbury. For if it be considered what it hath cost Our Country in sending out some forces some of which p^{ties} have not returned with y^e certaine newes of such a number slaine as with us, is it not reasonable that this service soe beneficiall should not be considered with some reward which may most easily be effected by issuing forth an Act of your grace in a sutable abatem^t of y^e said Sum leavied, with y^e conferring of a Barrill of Powder & sutable shott in regaurd that yo^r Petitioners have spent not onely theire owne stock of either, but much of y^e Towne stock. To which humble and Equitable Motions if Our hon^{ble} Court shall benignely condescend, You will deeply oblige yo^r humble petitioners not onely to pray for y^e p^rsence of y^e Lord to be with yo^u in all

yo^r arduous affaires with the blessing of The Almighty upon all yo^r Undertakings but shall for Ever remaine Yo^r humble servants

Edm: Browne	Benjamin Crane	Tho: Walker
Edm: Goodnow	Zacariah Maynard	John Blanford
John Groutt	Joseph Moore	John Allen
John Haines	John Parminter	Henry Curtis
Josiah Haynes	Joseph Parmenter	John Brewer
Thomas Veal	Peter Noyes	James Ross
Peter King	Jonathan Stanhope	Richard Burk
John Loker Sen ^r	Edward Wright	John Smith
Joseph Noyes	Jabez Browne	Thomas Brewes ?
John Goodenow	John Grout jun ^r	Samuell How
Mathew Gibs	Joseph Graves	Henry Loker
Thomas Wedge		

In Ans^r to the Petion^{rs} for Abatement in their last Ten Country Rates by reason of their losses in Estates by the Common Enemy ; Wee uppon examination finde y^t in their last Assm^t their estates falls short 4^l. 9^s. in their single County Rate, doe therefore judge meet, s^d Towne of Sudbury be Allowed 44, 10, 0 out of their whole sum to them pr Rates & Referring to their request for a Barrell of Powder &c wee refer it to y^e Courts determination.

WILLIAM PARKER ?

HUGH MASON

JOHN WAYTE

The deputyes approve of the ret. of this Committee in answer to this p^{te} O^r Honord Magis^{ts} Consenting thereto WILLIAM TORREY, Cleric

25 October 1676 Consented to by y^e Magis^{ts} EDW^d RAWSON, Sect'y.

An Accompt of Losse sustained by Several Inhabitants of y^e towne of Sudbury by y^e Indian Enemy y^e 21st Aprill 1676.

Mary Bacon formerly y ^e Relict	Thomas Rice	100 00 00
of Ensigne Noyes £140 00 00	Widd. Whale	024 00 00
Thomas Plympton 130 00 00	Henry Curtice	200 00 00
Deacon John Haines 130 00 00	John Brewer	120 00 00
Serj: Josiah Haines 190 00 00	Jacob Moores	050 00 00
Capt: James Pendleton 060 00 00	Henry Loker	100 00 00
John Goodenow 150 00 00	Joseph ffreeman	080 00 00
William Moores 180 00 00	Joseph Graves	060 00 00
Edward Wright 100 00 00	Peter King	040 00 00
Elias Keyes 060 00 00	Widd. Habgood	020 00 00
John Smith 080 00 00	Benjamin Crane	020 00 00
Samuell How 140 00 00	Thomas Wedge	015 00 00
Mr Pelham 050 00 00	John Blanford	010 00 00
Mr Thomas Steevens 015 00 00	Thomas Brewes	010 00 00
Corporall Henry Rice 180 00 00	Richard Burt	010 00 00
John Allen 060 00 00	Thomas Reade	003 00 00
James Rosse 070 00 00		
John Grout Jun ^r 060 00 00	Total Sum	2707 00 00

Besides y^e uncovering of many houses & Barnes & some hundreds of Acres of land which lay unimproved for feare of y^e Enemy to our greate loss and Damage.

(Endorsed)

Sudbury's Accompt of Losses (and also) Sudbury's Losses—76

This paper, never before published, gives a new phase of the fight. (Mass. Arch., Vol. 30, p. 205.)

The deposition of Edward Cowell Aged About — years—

This deponantt upon oath testifieth that I being upon the Countreies Searvis in Aprill last and haveing under my Conduct Eighteen men; Upon our Returning from Mallberough to Boston; and About three Milles From Sudbury Wee ware surprised with divers Hundred of Indians; Wheere of this Indian Tom was one (—) by a grombling signe or Noyse thatt hee Mayde; as in My Judgement was the Cause of our being fiored upon; at which tyme fower of my Company was killed and one Wounded; beside ffive horses ware disenabled they Being Shott upon Capt. Wadsworths Ingadgine with the Indian I wentt Backe and Beuryed the fower men which ware killed whereof (Lt.?) Thomas Haw[le]y, and Hopkinsies son both of [Edmund Rice¹²³] Roxbeury; Goodman [Baker's?] son and Robert Wayle[s] of Dorchester.

Sworn to before the Council 19 June 1676.

EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.

OTHER CORRESPONDENCE, &C., ABOUT THE SUDBURY FIGHT.

Letter of the Massachusetts Council to the Governor of Plymouth.

Hon^d S^r Since o^r last to you It pleaseth the holy God to give still further successe to the Enemye in this Colony by killing two men the one in Hingham, & the other in Weymouth aboute the same tyme At Marlborough also upon Tuesday and Wednesday last they burned the remainder of the Houses, so that now but three are standing that we know of but two or three garrisons; This day we have intelligence in the general that Sudbury was this morning assaulted and many houses burnt down, particulars and the more full certainty of things is not yet come to hand whilest we are consulting what to doe, earnestly we are moved to settle some of o^r faithfull Indians at Meadfield or Punquapoag, & others at Woodcocks & we desire that yo^r Colony would send such a number of yo^r Indians as may be convenient to be joyned in the same service whose work shall be constantly to scout abroad between Seaconck and Meadfield & Dedham w^{ch} is thought to be a very probable way Either to prevent the enemies coming in upon yo^r Colony and ours that way, or at least to give speedy notice of their motions and dissapoynt theire mischievous designes. This motion proceeds from some of the cheef of our Indians William Ahaton & Capt. John who are very willing to be employed and much persuaded, that there may be good therein. o^r present thoughts are to indeavor and encourage this matter with all speed and in order hereto we have sent our Corporall Swift the bearer hereof to yo^r selfe from whome you may understand things more fully & by him acquaint us with yo^r view of the matter and further advise for the better perfecting of the designe & that we may also know whether you can furnish out any sufficient number of Indians from yo^r parts & how soone.

O^r General Court of Elections is to sit upon Wednesday come seven-night, & then full order may be taken.

Commending you to the God of Councell & Protection

we remain E. R. S:
past & signed 21 Apr^r 76

¹²³ The name Edmund Rice is in the margin. He was probably one of those of Sudbury killed, and his name was inserted by some one in the margin of Cowell's note. Only the letter *a* in Baker is present. The paper is badly torn.

Directed to the Hon^{ble} Josia Winslow Gov^r
of his maj^{ty} Colony at New Plymouth. (Mass. Arch., Vol. 68, p. 220.)

Petition of Daniel Warren and Joseph Peirce.

To Inform the Honoured Counsel of the Service don at Sudbury by severall of the Inhabatance of Watertowne as our honoured Captain Mason hath Allready informed a part thereof in the petion: but we who wear thear can moer largely inform this honoured Council: that as it is said in the petion that we drove two hundred Indians over the River; wee followed the enimie over the river and joyned with som others and went to see if wee could relieve Captain Wadsworth upon the hill and thear we had a fight with the Indians but they beinge soe many of them and we stayed soe long that we wear allmost incompassed by them which cased us to retreat to Captain Goodanous Garrison; and their we stayed it being ner night till it was dark and then we went to Mr Noices Mill to see if we could find any that were escaped to that place all though thear wear noe persons dwelling there; but thear we found :13: or :14: of Captain Wadsworths men who wear escaped some of them wounded and brought them to Sudbury towne;

On the next day in the morning soe soon as it was light we went to looke for — Concord men who wear slain in the River middow and thear we went in the cold water up to the knees where we found five and we brought them in Conus to the Bridge fut and buried them thear; and then we joyned ourselves to Captain Hunton with as many others as we could procuer and went over the River to look for Captain Wadsworth and Captain Brattlebank and the soldiers that wear slain; and we gathered them up and Buried them; and then it was agreed that we should goe up to Nobsct to bring the Carts from thence into Sudbury-Towne and soe returned Hom againe; to what is above written we whos nams are subscribed can testifi:

dated the :6: of march :78:
:79:

DANIEL WARRIN
JOSEF PEIRCE

Our request is to the much Honoured Counsel that they would be pleased to consider us in reference to our Request; their being 2 troops of hors appointed to bury the dead as we wear informed whos charg was spared and we as yet not allowed for what we did;

Your most Humb^{le} Servants to Command to the utmost of our poor S
for our selves and in the behalf of the rest
Mass. Arch., Vol. 68, p. 198.

DANIEL WARRIN
JOSEF PEIRCE

Of other contemporary accounts of the fight and its consequences there are several from eminently reliable authorities. Treasurer John Hull wrote a letter on April 29th, 1676, concerning the sad state of affairs in the colony, giving details of successive casualties, and says: "On y^e 21st valiant Captains Wadsworth and Brocklebank wth about 50 valiant souldiers were slain by y^e Indians."

The letters of the "Anonymous writer," published in London, which have been several times referred to above, give a very concise account, as follows: "April 20th Capt. Wadsworth of Dorchester, being designed with an 100 men to repair to Marlborough to

strengthen the garrison, and remove the goods &c. there; did accordingly this evening march with about 70 men from Sudbury, the rest of his men not appearing. The Enemy who were about 1000 strong lay near his Passage, but kept themselves undiscovered and permitted him to passe them in the night but in the morning assaulted and burned most of the Houses in Sudbury (save those that were ingarrisoned).” The writer goes on to tell that twelve volunteers from Concord came down to lend assistance, and eleven of the number were slain, and that Capt. Wadsworth with his tired troops, that had marched all the day and night before, marched promptly back from Marlborough, being joined by Capt. Brocklebank and a few of the garrison soldiers, making a company of not more than eighty men miserably tired for want of rest and sleep. This company was drawn into ambush and encompassed by many hundred Indians,—our authorities say a thousand or more,—fought them from a hill for four hours with the loss of only five men, till the Indians set fire to the woods at the windward of them, and thus forced them from their strong position, and in their retreat waylaid and destroyed all but a few of the men who escaped to a mill where they defended themselves till night, when rescued by Capt. Prentice’s troopers, who themselves had just been rescued by Capt. Cowell and his dragoons.

Rev. Increase Mather, of Boston, who published a history of this Indian war at about the same time with Mr. Hubbard, writes—“April 20th, a day of humiliation was observed at Boston. The next day sad tidings came to us. For the enemy set upon Sudbury and burnt a great part of the town; and whereas Capt. Wadsworth and his Lieutenant Sharp, also Capt. Brocklebank (a godly and choice spirited man) was killed at the time.”

Major Daniel Gookin, the commanding officer of Middlesex forces and superintendent of the “Praying Indians” in the colony, writes :

“Upon April 21, about midday tidings came by many messengers that a great body of the enemy not less as was judged than fifteen hundred . . . had assaulted a town called Sudbury that morning . . . Indeed (thro’ God’s favor) some small assistance had already been sent from Watertown by Capt. Hugh Mason, which was the next town to Sudbury. These with some of the inhabitants joined and with some others that came in to their help, there was vigorous resistance made and a check given to the enemy. . . . But these particulars were not known when the tidings came to Charlestown.”

Major Gookin gives a very full account in his history of the “Praying Indians,” his object being to vindicate the Indians from the charges of treachery and inefficiency made against them by popular clamor. His account was necessarily accurate, and it agrees closely with the records. From him, and also from the Archives, we learn that a company of Indians was being organized at this time, and the

letters of the Council show that the design of this company was to fortify the fishing places upon the Merrimac, in conjunction with a company of English, and under command of Capt. Samuel Hunting, of Charlestown. This Indian company, it seems, was at Charlestown when the news of the attack upon Sudbury came, and without waiting for particulars, Major Gookin immediately despatched "a ply of horse" from Capt. Prentice's troop under Corporal Phipps, and forty Indians under Capt. Hunting, which force arrived at Sudbury that evening, the troopers in time to rescue the remnants of Capt. Wadsworth's company from the mill where they had taken refuge and had defended themselves against the enemy.

All the above accounts are of contemporaries, and all agree in the main particulars and confirm each other in the matter of the date. Rev. Mr. Hubbard, of Ipswich, whose history of this war is most complete, and, in the main, the most reliable, agrees mostly with the others, but seems to have known less of this fight than usual, and less of the details than the others, and in the matter of the date was unquestionably wrong.

From all the above authorities, the true account in brief seems to be, that the English had no suspicion of the great numbers of the Indians that were gathering about Marlborough and Sudbury, or of the vicinity of any until early in the morning of the 21st, when several deserted houses were burnt with the evident purpose of drawing out the garrisons into an ambuscade. Then Deacon Haines's garrison-house was attacked with fury by large numbers, but was successfully defended from six o'clock in the morning until one o'clock, P.M., when the assault was abandoned. Twelve volunteers coming from Concord upon the alarm, to aid the garrison, were lured into the river meadow, and all slain save one. Mr. Edward Cowell, with a body of eighteen mounted men, coming from Brookfield by way of Marlborough, and by a different way from that taken by Capt. Wadsworth, became sharply engaged with an outlying party of the enemy, and lost four men killed, one wounded, and had five of his horses disabled.

While the attack upon Cowell's party was still going on, Captain Wadsworth and his company came upon the scene, and seeing a small party of Indians, rushed forward with the usual impetuous haste, and were caught in the usual ambuscade, for when within about a mile of Sudbury they were induced to pursue a body of not more than one hundred, and soon found themselves drawn away about one mile into the woods, where on a sudden they were encompassed by more than five hundred, and forced to a retreating fight towards a hill where they made a brave stand for a while (one authority says four hours), and did heavy execution upon the enemy, until (Mr. Hubbard says) the night coming on and some of the company beginning to scatter from the rest, their fellows were forced to follow them, and thus being encompassed in the chase by numbers,

the Captains and most of the company were slain. The anonymous writer above referred to, says the Indians set fire to the woods and thus forced the disastrous retreat. Thirteen only out of the company escaped to "Noyes's mill," and there held the enemy in check. In the mean time Cowell withdrew his party from their dangerous situation, went back and buried their dead comrades, and then rode around into the town by another way in time to rescue Capt. Prentice's troopers, and afterwards, with others in company, the men at the mill. It was probably about noon when Capt. Wadsworth became actively engaged with the Indians, and thus withdrew their attention from both Cowell and Haines's garrison. The Watertown company arrived at about the same time, followed the Indians over the river, and made a brave fight to get to the hill where Capt. Wadsworth was engaged in his desperate struggle, but such fearful odds were against them that they were forced to fall back to Goode-now's garrison, "it being ner night." After dark they went to the "mill," probably with the troopers and Cowell's men, and brought off the soldiers there. The troopers sent from Charlestown, with the Indian company under Capt. Hunting, must have arrived quite late in the afternoon. These are the main facts, in brief, of the Sudbury fight. The next day the Watertown company, with Capt. Hunting's Indians, buried the dead. The site of the battlefield where Capt. Wadsworth so long held the Indians at bay, is upon what is now called "Green Hill." Here in 1730, fifty-four years after the battle, Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, fifth son of Capt. Samuel, and at that time president of Harvard College, erected a monument to the memory of his father and those that fell with him. It is to be regretted that President Wadsworth accepted the erroneous date given by Mr. Hubbard,¹²⁴ which has been perpetuated upon the new monument erected in 1852.

It is a regret that we are unable to know positively the numbers of English engaged. The number with Capt. Wadsworth upon the "Hill" was probably near fifty. The most definite statement is

¹²⁴ The investigations of Mr. Drake first exposed the error which Mr. Hubbard made in his history (see *NEW ENG. HIST. AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER*, vol. vii. p. 221). Gov. George S. Boutwell, who delivered the historical discourse at the dedication of the new monument, Nov. 23, 1852, and at that time assigned the date April 18, replied in 1866 (see *REGISTER*, vol. xx. p. 135) to Mr. Drake's article, and contended that the date given in his discourse was the true one. The Historic Genealogical Society then took the matter in hand, and appointed a committee, Gen. A. B. Underwood and Frederic Kidder, who made a thorough and exhaustive report at the society's meeting, October, 1836, which was published in the *REGISTER*, vol. xx. p. 341, proving beyond question that the date April 21st is the true date of the fight. Contemporary Official Records, the highest evidence of all, testify in every case to this date, while the evidence for the 18th is only found in Mr. Hubbard's history and in several books of remarkable events kept by some prominent men of the colony, who, it is evident, not unfrequently made their entries some time after the occurrence of the events, and who, in this case, probably adopted the date of Hubbard. John Hull, for instance, whose letter-extract above, written within a few days, gives the date the 21st, in his diary of notable events puts it down as on the 18th. Major Daniel Gookin, Rev. Increase Mather, the writer of the "Present State of New England," and other authorities, agree with the official Records in giving the 21st. Subsequent historians, until Mr. Drake, simply quote Hubbard's date.

It is a great satisfaction to the present writer to add the new testimony of the petition of the inhabitants of Sudbury.

that of Major Gookin, who puts the number of those slain, besides the two Captains, as "about thirty-two private soldiers." Cowell had eighteen, and the Concord men were twelve. The Watertown company was not probably over forty, while the garrisons of Sudbury amounted to but eighty. Thus about two hundred men were actively engaged with, and holding in play, probably more than a thousand Indians one whole day, and finally defeated their intention of capturing the town, sending them away with fearful loss.

Unfortunately we are not as yet able to find any list of the names of those killed on that day, and Mr. Hull's accounts do not show any credits referable to that service; only here and there are we able to glean from probate and town and church records a few names of those killed.

From the Roxbury Records we find that

" Samuel Gardner, son of Peter	William Cleaves
Thomas Baker	Joseph Pepper
John Roberts	John Sharpe
Nathaniel Sever	Thomas Hopkins
Thomas Hawley Sr	Lieut Samuel Gardner

were all slain att Sudbury under command of Capt. Sam^l Wadsworth upon 21 Aprill 1676."

Of the Concord men killed in the meadow near "Haynes's Garrison," but five bodies were recovered, and but seven names of the killed are preserved in the records.

James Hosmer	Samuel Potter	John Barnes
Daniel Comy	Joseph Buttrick	Josiah Wheeler
William Heywood		

Three of Cowell's men that were killed are in the Roxbury list above. The fourth was Robert Wayles, of Dorchester. The Suffolk Probate Records give an additional name, Eliazer Hawes, of Dorchester. These, with Capts. Wadsworth and Brocklebank, make in all but twenty-one. It is hoped that a more complete list of those who fell with Capt. Wadsworth may be made before the close of this series of articles, and any assistance in that direction will be gratefully received.

John Wadsworth, youngest son of Capt. Samuel, was left out of the list of his children by mistake. He was born in 1674; became a prominent citizen of Milton; had a family of twelve children, of whom his second son, Benjamin, built a house now standing in Milton.

NO. XVII.

CAPT. WILLIAM TURNER AND HIS MEN.

WILLIAM TURNER came from Dartmouth in South Devonshire to Dorchester, Massachusetts; admitted to the church in 1642; freeman May 10th, 1643. Is in a list of owners of certain pasture lands there in 1646. Was chosen bailiff of the town in 1661; signed a petition of the inhabitants of Dorchester in 1664. He probably moved to Boston in the latter part of 1664, as he was one of the original members of the First Baptist Church gathered in Boston May 28th, 1665. The chief members of this church at the start were, Thomas Gould, the elder and preacher, who with his son-in-law Thomas Osborne, withdrew from the first church in Charlestown; Edward Drinker and John George who had lived in the country many years but had not joined any church; Mr. Turner and Robert Lambert had belonged to Mr. Stead's church in Dartmouth before coming to this country; Richard Goodall and Mary his wife were from Mr. Kiffin's church in London, and these, with Mary Newell, made up the original membership of the church. To these were soon joined John Farnham, Isaac Hull, Jacob Barney, John Russell Jr., John Johnson, George Farlow, Seth Sweetsir, Benjamin Sweetsir and his wife, and Mrs. Osborne, wife of Thomas.

For some time after the church was gathered, they met quietly at the house of Edward Drinker at Charlestown, without any interference from the authorities, partly, it is probable, because the Royal Commissioners were in Boston at the time, and would not countenance any rigorous measures by those who had clamored so loudly against religious intolerance at home, but chiefly for want of a leader in the persecution. The church at Charlestown, finally in July, 1665, excommunicated those members who had withdrawn from them; and in the following September they were summoned to appear before the Court of Assistants to answer for their heresies, and, after hearing their confession of faith, this Court charged them to desist from their "schismatical practice." Because they did not cease from their practice of separate worship as usual, they were summoned before the General Court, Oct. 11, which convicted them of "high presumption against the Lord and his holy appointments, as well as the peace of this Government," and the said Thomas Gould, William Turner, Thomas Osborne, Edward Drinker and John George, such of them as were freemen, were sentenced to be disfranchised, and upon conviction of fur-

ther pursuit of their practices, before any one magistrate, were to be committed to prison till further order from the General Court. April 17, 1666, Gould, Osborne and George were presented and fined, and refusing to pay, or enter their bond to desist from holding their meetings, and absenting themselves from the regular service, were cast into prison. At the next session of Assistants, September 11th, they were allowed to pay their fines and charges of the Court, and be set at liberty, but with the old sentence still hanging over them. And the persecution went on with much the same method, until the Court of Assistants met, March 3d, 1668, and summoned the "Anabaptists" to a public "hearing" or disputation, upon April 14th, to answer for their "presumptuous and turbulent" conduct. This notable meeting was held in Boston on the 14th and 15th of April, before a "mighty concourse" of people. The leading men in Mr. Clarke's church at Newport, were sent to help their brethren, and arrived in Boston three days before the dispute. The Baptists seem to have had the best of the argument, in the main, and the favor of popular sympathy; but the magistrates overbore all considerations, and, supported by the more bigoted of the clergy, demanded absolute obedience to their authority; and at the next meeting of the "Assembly" action was taken to expel from the colony, "Thomas Gould, William Turner and John Farnum, Senior, obstinate and turbulent Anabaptists," who "have combined themselves with others in a pretended church estate, without the knowledge or the approbation of the authority here established, to the great grief and offence of the godly orthodox," &c. The above-named men were given until July 20th to get out of the colony, and if found within its limits after that date were to be imprisoned. It is evident that they did not leave the colony, and were imprisoned soon after the expiration of their probation.

In the Massachusetts Archives many valuable papers are preserved relating to this Anabaptist controversy. And in Volume X. p. 220 is a letter from Gould, Farnham and Turner, dated in prison, October 14, 1668, stating that it is the "twelfth week of their imprisonment." There was a wide-spread popular feeling against the action of the magistrates who carried this persecution with such a high hand; and a petition was presented to the Court in behalf of the prisoners, signed by many prominent names of the colony, seventy or more being signed. The house of deputies, it seems, favored the granting of the petition, but the magistrates overruled and refused, and summoned many of the prominent signers to appear and answer for their contempt of the Court in signing the petition. I think the prisoners were liberated during the winter, probably on condition of "good behavior." Capt. Turner was imprisoned again, evidently under the old sentence, and it is likely for breaking the conditions of his release. Several complaints were brought up against him, the chief of which seems to have been, in this last case, that

he would not present his child at church for baptism. The following letter gives some idea of the man and his condition :

Letter of William Turner to the General Court.

To the honored General Court now sitting at boston the humble address of Will: Turner now prisoner at boston humbly sheweth

That whereas it hath pleased some of the honored maistrates to issue out A warrant for the apprehending of my body and Committing mee to prison, and there to remayne according to A sentence of A general Court the 29th of April 1668 your poore prisoner doth therefore humbly beseech you to consider that by vertue of that sentence I have already suffered Above thirty weekes imprisonment and that A whole winter season which was a greate prejudice to my health and distraction to my poore family & which I hope this honored [Court] will consider with the weaknes of my body and the extremity of lying in prison in A cold winter which may be to the utter ruine of my headles family: And withal to consider my readines to serve this Country to the uttermost of my ability in all civill things: The maine difference being only in faith and order of which God only can satisfie A poore soul: Thus hoping this honored Court will take it into their serious Consideration and extend their mercy as becomes the servants of Christ I shal leave both my state and condition and honored Court to the wise disposing of the Almighty, remaining yours to serve you in all faithfulness to my power.

WILL: TURNER.

boston prison this 27 of 8th mo: 1670

Mass. Archives, Vol. X. p. 228.

The deputies submitted this to the magistrates, who were unyielding.

It is not known whether any action resulted from this letter, but at a Court held at Boston, March 2d, 1669, a petition was presented from Gould and Turner, then in prison, for release, and they were allowed "three days" to visit their families, and then to be returned to prison. Soon after this many and very earnest letters were received from prominent orthodox ministers in England, deprecating these rigorous measures of the magistrates, as against the scriptures and directly prejudicial to the interests of the church in America and to dissenting churches everywhere. The prisoners were probably released some time in the summer of 1669, and soon after Mr. Gould took up his residence permanently at "Noddle's Island," and there the Baptists thereafter held their meetings, and the First Baptist Church in Boston dates from the first removal of Gould to Noddle's Island, supposed to be in 1668, though Mr. William H. Sumner, in his History of East Boston, says Gould had resided there for several years previously. On November 30th, 1670, Mr. Edward Drinker, in a letter to Mr. Clarke and his church at Newport, says: "At this present our dear brother William Turner, a prisoner for the Lord's cause in Boston has some good experience, &c. &c. both he and brother Gould were to be taken up but only brother Turner is yet taken and has been about a month in prison."

Gould was not yet taken because the magistrates waited to take him in Boston, and "he came not over." He speaks bitterly of Gov. Bellingham and the magistrates, but in terms of gratitude of Messrs. Oxenbridge and Allen of the First Church in Boston for their earnest endeavors to help the Baptists in their troubles, and says that all the deputies voted to release the prisoners, but that the magistrates "carry all before them." He says in the closing part of his letter, "Brother Turner's family is very weakly and himself too. I fear he will not trouble them long; only this is our comfort, we hear if he dies in prison, they say they will bury him," &c. The reply to this letter was addressed "Unto the Church of Jesus Christ, meeting on Noddle's Island in New England." In December, 1671, Benjamin Sweetser, of Charlestown, writes to Newport that "brother Turner has been near to death but through mercy is revived, and so is our pastor Gould." The letter indicates that they are now at liberty, but that the persecution is being stirred up again, &c.

Upon the death of Gov. Bellingham, December 7, 1672, active hostilities ceased, and the election of John Leverett as governor in May, 1673, secured them from public persecution so long as he remained in office.

This somewhat long digression may be partially justified by Capt. Turner's connection with it, and by its evidence of the relations of magistrates, deputies and people in the times just preceding the Indian war. Capt. Turner was a tailor by trade, and he plied that vocation in Boston during these years, 1664-'75. There is no record that I can find of his marriage or of the births or baptism of his children, except the following items.

Capt. Turner belonged to the church in Dorchester in 1642, and Patience Turner was baptized there 10: 9mo: 1644, and may have been his child. There is nothing in the record that indicates the relationship, but in 1665 to "William Turner and Frances" in Boston was born a daughter, who was named "Prudence" (the child probably whom he refused to present for baptism), and the similarity of these names, and indications that "Mercy" Turner was another of his family, is fairly good evidence that these were the daughters of whom he speaks in his will, which he made February 16th, 1675-6, just before leaving home for his march to the Connecticut River. He speaks of sons and daughters, but does not mention names. Mary, his wife at that time, had been the widow of Key Alsop, and married Capt. Turner probably about 1672-3. In his letter from prison, in October, 1670, he refers to his "headles" family, and I infer that his wife Frances had died previous to that. William, of his company, was his son, and probably Joshua, Thomas and Joseph. Some account of these and their descendants will be given in proper order at the close of this article.

Mr. Backus, in the first volume of his history, page 335, has a note, of which he says: "The copy of Mr. Russell's Narrative that

I am favored with came out of his (i. e. Mr. Callender's) family, and in it is a manuscript note in the margin, against Mr. Russell's account of Mr. Turner, which says ":

"In the beginning of the war, William Turner gathered a company of volunteers, but was denied a commission and discouraged, because the chief of the company were Anabaptists. Afterwards, when the war grew more general and destructive, and the country in very great distress, having divers towns burnt, and many men slain, then he was desired to accept a commission. He complained it was too late, his men on whom he could confide being scattered; however, was moved to accept."

I have found no official record or notice of the organization of Capt. Turner's company, but below are his own official lists, the first taken at Medfield on February 22d (the next day after the partial destruction of that town), and he reports this list of the company, "as they came out of Boston," showing February 21st as the most probable date of his marching. It is evident that his men were not all volunteers, as many were "cleared" upon their arrival at Marlborough, and some were on the list of "impressed" men.

From Medfield his company marched to Marlborough, whither all the English troops were now ordered for the organization of the army about to take the field. The lists of the company are below and explain themselves, and also show that the army marched from Marlborough, February 29th, to Quabaog (Brookfield), and thence, on March 4th. The movements of the army under Major Savage were related in Chap. IV. of this volume. Capt. Turner received at Marlborough, from the companies of Cpts. Wadsworth and Reynolds, thirty-five men, giving him about eighty in his company. March 4th, Capt. Turner marched from Quabaog with a company of seventy men, as he left ten men at that garrison on that day.

It will be remembered that on the retreat of the Narragansetts in January, many of them were scattered among the Nipmucks in various places, and two large bodies of these, mingled with local tribes, were gathered, one at Memenimisset (the chief town and stronghold of the Nipmucks) and another near "Wachusett Hill." At Quabaog the army was reinforced by the Connecticut companies under Major Treat, and after several days spent in vain search for the Indians, at last struck the trail of a large body of the enemy, but too late to prevent their escape beyond the Paquayag River, to which our cavalry pursued them. Thus the army was led to pass by undisturbed, and leave behind it a great body of the enemy at Wachusett. This was contrary to their purpose and against the urgent advice of their friendly Indian scouts, but it seemed best to their commanders (after they had been led so far from Quabaog, and with such large numbers of the Indians driven before them, who might form a junction with the western Indians and fall upon the valley plantations at once) to march forward to the towns upon the River,

where they arrived on March 8th. Major Savage found that there were indications of large numbers of Indians in the vicinity, and immediately disposed his forces for the defence of the several towns. Capt. Turner was sent across the river to Northampton for the defence of that town. The inhabitants had placed "palisadoes" about their village "for their better security," and two companies of Connecticut men under Major Treat joined Capt. Turner's company probably on the 13th, as the Indians were amazed to find the town full of English soldiers, when, early in the morning of March 14th, they made a vigorous and combined assault. Gathering about the town in the darkness undiscovered, and breaking through the palisades in three places, they crept in and close about the houses, and there seem to have been no guards or night-watch, and the first intimation of the enemies' presence was their furious attack upon several houses. They succeeded in setting fire to ten before the sleeping garrison could be roused; but when the Indians realized their situation, and found themselves confronted with three strong companies instead of a defenceless hamlet, they turned and rushed headlong to the breaches they had made in the palisades, panic-stricken to find themselves in a trap, and in their frantic crowding to get out were confronted with the troops, and many were shot down by ours, at the gaps, inside. Eleven of their dead were left. Five of the English known to have been killed, were Robert Bartlett, Thomas Holton, and Mary Earle of Northampton, James McRenell (or Macranell) and Inceas Whetstone of Capt. Turner's company. The following extract from a letter of Rev. John Russell, of Hadley, is of interest here. It is dated at Hadley, March 16th, 1675-6:

"Although the Lord hath granted us an intervall of quiet this winter yet since y^e coming on of y^e Spring the warr here is renewed with more strength and violence here than in any other part while we remaine for as we had intellegence by the captive who is returned (commonly called 'Speckled Tom'), Philip intended with his whole power to come upon these Towns and taking them to make his planting place a fort this year at Deerfield so on y^e 14th instant the enemy to the number of a 1000^d as judged made a sudden and violent iruption upon Northampton brake through their works in three places & had in reason taken the whole Town had not Providence so ordered it y^t Maj^r Treate was come in with his men within y^e night y^e same evening yet they burned five houses and five barns, one within the fortification, slew five persons wounded five. There are s^d to be found about a dozen of the enemy slain. Here also above Deerfield a few miles is the great place of their fishing w^{ch} must be expected to afford them their provisions for the yere, So that the swarme of them being here and like to continue here we must look to feele their utmost rage except the Lord be pleased to breake their power. My desire is we may be willing to do or suffer live or dy; remaine in or be driven out from o^r habitations as the Lord o^r God would have us and as may be Conducibile to y^e glory of his name and y^e publike weale of his people," &c. &c.

The Indians meeting this unexpected repulse at Northampton, hastened away for an assault upon Hatfield, but finding it also defended by Capt. Mosely and his men, they hastily withdrew and again attempted to surprise Northampton, hoping, it is likely, that the vigilance of the English was relaxed, or a part of the troops were drawn off, but finding a ready reception awaiting, they retired completely foiled of what was expected to be an easy prey. With the exception of an attack upon Westfield a short time after, and the assault of a small party upon the people of Longmeadow going to Springfield to attend church (affairs to be related in their proper order), there was no further demonstration in force while the army remained. In the mean time these disasters and their extreme want of food began to cause disaffection among the local tribes who had no immediate quarrel against the English, and to this was added the discouraging fact of the capture and death of Canonchet, chief of the Narragansetts, and the real leader now of the confederated tribes. The English took advantage of this discouragement and opened negotiations looking to a peace, while a price was offered for the head of Philip, who promptly retired out of harm's way.

Capt. Turner and his company were engaged at Northampton and the neighboring towns in guarding and fortifying against the expected attack of the great body of Indians gathered in the vicinity, our troops as well as those of Connecticut being under the general command of Major Savage, for an account of whose operations and the condition of affairs at this time, see Chap. IV. of this volume, a very interesting letter of the Council to Major Savage, dated April 1st. In accordance with these instructions Major Savage marched home with most of the soldiers that came with him, leaving Capt. Turner in charge of the defence of these towns in Captain Poole's place, and leaving him one hundred and fifty-one men in regular service. These were mostly single men, and very largely boys and servants, or apprentices.

These troops were designed for the defence of the towns, and were for garrison duty only. Hadley was made headquarters, and a garrison of fifty-one men was detailed there. Forty-five were stationed at Hatfield, nine were sent to Springfield, and forty-six at Northampton. The following petition and letter explain themselves.

Petition of Mrs. Mary Turner.

To the Honoured Gouvernour & Councill Now Assembled In Boston.

The Humble petition of Mary Turner wife to W^m Turner now in the Service of the Country Under Comand of your Honours, Humbly Sheweth,

That whereas your poor petitioners husband Voluntarily & frely offered him selfe unto & now Is In your Service far from home together with his son & servants leaving onely one servant with me which God by his Providence hath bereaved me off soe that I Am at present wholly Almost left destitute of maintenance for myselfe which calls uppon me to crave of your honours Consideration of my present Condition And order the payment to

me of the whole or whatt part your honours think fitt of wages due for the time my husband son & servants have bene In the Service of the Country which shall further Ingage your poor petitioner to pray for As In duty Am Bound : the future peace & prosperity of your honours & All the people of God In this poor Country.

MARY TURNER.

In Ans^r to the .petition, It is ordered that the Committee of the Army forthwith order the petitioner be payd Seven pounds on y^e Account exprest therein.

Dated at Boston the 24th of Aprill 1676

By y^e Council

EDW^d RAWSON, Sec^{ry}.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 225.

Letter of Capt. William Turner.

Honored Sirs.

Since the army marcht hence under the Command of major general Savage and left mee here by order from your honours: I have not had any thing worth sending downe A post: And now having an opportunity I thought meete to acquaint your honours that the souldiers here are in greate distresse for want of clothing both Linen and Woollen: So I desired the Commissaries here to send downe to quabouge to see if there any supplies: So they brought from thence A few Shirts Stockings Shoes and drawers: but not an eighth of what wee want: So that I shall beseech your honours to take some speedy Course for a supply to be sent to the Commissaries here for their[r] [rele]afe: here will want much as the enclosed note will show you: ———, forasmuch as it hath pleased your honours to commit the care of [these] townes to my Charge: so I shall beseech your honours that my [wi]fe may have my wages due to mee for to supply the wants of my family: for whome I am bound by the lawes of god and nature to make provision: And I should be glad if there might be some fitter person found for this employment: for I much doubt my weaknes of body and my often infirmities will hardly Sufer mee to doe my duty as I ought in this employment: And it would grieve me to be negligent in anything that might be for the good of this yeare Country in this day of their distress: Therefore shal leave it to your honours Consideration: whether some other man may not be fitter to be employed in this place by reason of my weaknes of body: I have here sent you those Lists of my Company as they came from boston and afterwards from marlborough as they Continued to the seventh instant: also an account from the Commissary of northampton to that day: I have also sent A List of those Left the 7th instant under my Command in these 3 townes: most of them having beene here long before my time: Thus hoping your honours will Consider so as to send some speedy supply for the souldiers here and also order something for the supply of my family in my absence: I shall beg the Lord to be your Counsellour and guide in this time of distracktion and sore trouble: And remaine yours to serve your honours to the uttmost of my power wherein I may.

WILL: TURNER.

I beseech your honours deliver these lists to whome they may concerne: And command the souldiers to make hast backe to their quarters:

Your honours since y^e close of this there is come in a young man taken from Springfield at the beginning of last month who informes that the enemy is drawing up all their forces towards these townes: and their head quarters to be at (Deere) field alias pegunkugg.

Dated 25 April, 1676.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 228.

Following are the lists referred to in the letter. The first shows the organization of his company until April 7th; the second list shows the disposal of his force for the defence of the towns up to April 25th.

A List of Capt. William Turner's men as they came from Boston and taken at Medfield 1675-6.

William Turner, *Capt.*

Edward Drinker, *Lieut.*

William Parsons, }
Ezekiel Gilman, } *Sergeants.*

Phellip Squire, }
Thomas Elliot, } *Corporalls.*
Thomas Barnard, }
James Knott, }

Jonathan Orris	James Verin	Matthias Smith
W ^m Turner jr.	Thomas Chard	Samuel Gallop
Ephraim Roper	Henry Dawson	Barthol. Whittwell
Jo ⁿ Sawdy	Samuel Davies	Samuel Judkins
Richard Cheevers	Mark Wood	Richard Knight
Josiah Man	Robert Miller	Joseph Preist
Elias Tyffe	Jo ⁿ Cunneball	Peaceful Clarke
Robert Seares	Richard Staines	Henery Kerby
Sam ^l Rawlins	Joseph Gallop	Edward Wright
Samuel Brisantine	Jo ⁿ Roberts	Phellip Jessop
Isaiah Toy	Hoo: Steward	Thomas Skinner, <i>Clerk.</i>
Roger Jones	James Burges	

John Newton, cleared by the Councill at Medfield.

Nathan Addams, sick at Medfield.

Robert Briant, wounded, at Dedham.

A List of them Cleared at Marlborough.

Henry Timberleggs,	Jo ⁿ Carthew	Samuell Holmes
<i>Ensigne</i>	Thomas Bendy	James Parker
William Wade	Jo ⁿ Smith	fearnott Shaw
Clement Hamblinge	Joseph Dindy	Will ^m Robbins
Jacob Hanson	Amos	James Travis
Jo ⁿ Brackenbery	Henerie Wright	Jo ⁿ Jay
Nathaniel Badcock		

This is a true List of such as came out of Boston wth me as witnesse my hand feeb. the 22^d 1675-6.

WILL: TURNER.

Another list follows upon the same paper and is headed, "A List of men as they came from Marlborough feeb: 29, '75-6." This list is identical with the one above except that Edward Crick (Creek) is Ensign in place of Henry Timberleggs (Timberlake) cleared as above.

In the same paper also the following :

Rec^d these men whose names follow, from Captaine Wadsworth & fro'.
Capt. Reynolds.

Phillip Mattoone, for whome I tooke in exchange John Thropp at Hampton.

Joⁿ Newman made Corporall 17 March 75-6.

John Sympole	Solomon Lowd	Jo ⁿ Broughton
Jo ⁿ Chapple	William Bosway	Jo ⁿ Rolestone
Henery Beresferd	John Glide	William Jemmison
James Burnell	Josiah Lane	Edward Samson
Jo ⁿ Walker	James Hewes	John Avis
Joseph Lamson	Jonath: Dunninge	Joseph Griffin
Joseph Bickner	William Jaques	Henery Smith
William Clow	William Manley	Sam ^{ll} Phesy (Vesey)
William Twing	George Ripley	Joseph Bateman
Joseph Lyon	Phill: Sandy	James Machrenell kild at
Richard Francis	Diggory Sargent	Hampton March 14 th
William Hartford		

These were left at Quabaug the 4th of March 1675-6.

Henery Pellington	Tho: Brisanton	Thomas Chapman
David Crouter	Thomas Stacy	Augustine John
John Gromwell	Charles Duckworth	James Callen
Richard Sutton		

The Rest continued under my Command till y^e 7th of Aprill att which time 4 were left in Hadly by order of y^e Conncell and part of the Compagnie marched under the conduct of Lieut. Drinker with Maj. Savage, some by order staying with me.

WILL: TURNER.

Mass. Archives, 68, p. 158.

A Liste off Souldjers und^r the Command off Capt. Will^m Turner ffro. the
7th of Aprill 1676

Hadley Souldjers:	Jo ⁿ Chamberlin	William Torner
Capt. William Turner	Jo ^o Luddon	
Serg ^t John Throppe	John Presson	Souldjers sent to the
Serg ^t John Newman	Jo ⁿ Bill	Mill.
Corp ^l Joseph Hartshorne	Will ^m Chubb	Robert Seares
Corp ^l Robert Sympson	Moses Morgan	Sam ^{ll} Rawlins
W ^m Armes	Roger Jones	John Sawdy
John Strowbridge	Jo ⁿ Wiseman	Jonathan Dunninge
Sam ^{ll} Sybly	Phillip Jessop	Samuell Davies
Thomas Jones	Joseph Griffin	John ffisher
Robert Coates	Josiah Man	Thomas Cobbett
David Hartshorne	Thomas Chard	Thomas Sympkins
Benj. Poole	John Sheapheard	Richard Lever
John Uppum	Ephraim Roper	
Simon Grover	Nicholas Duerell	Hampton Souldjers
Stephen Grover	Phellep Cattlin	Serg ^t Esaiah Toy
John Pratt	Joseph Chamb ^l lin	Corp ^l John Wilde
Thomas Briant	Richard Snodin	John Smith
Triall Newbury	Joseph Smith	John Babson
Josuah Phillips	Joseph Bodman	John Whiterage
Benjamin Chamb ^l lin	John Chapple, <i>Drummer</i>	John Ashdowne

John Rolestone	William Hunt	John Cooke
John Longbury	Samu ^l Tily	John Hix
John Foster	James Barrell	John Salter
John Wattson	William Hartforde	Jeremiah Cloather
John Chaplin	Ephraim Beeres	John Arnold
John Belcher	Richard Bever	Simon Williams
John Stukely	John fliske, left wounded	Daniel Clow
John Boyde	by Capt. Lathroppe	Edward Bishoppe
John Walker		Henry Raynor
John Roberts	Hattfelde Souldjers	Samuell Neale
Martin Smith	Serg ^t Robert Bardwell	Jeffery Jeffers
Abraham Shaw	Corp ^l Samuell Laine	Hugh Price
Thomas Roberts	Benjamin Barrett	Archebold fforest
Richard Hudson	Hugh Goliko	Jabesh Duncan
Samuel Ransford	Anthony Baker	John Hughes
Joseph fflower	Jo ⁿ Largin	William Batt
Solomon Lowde	Richard Staines	Walter Hixon
William Jaques	Nicholas Gray	Jabesh Musgrove
Jacob Burton	Jo ⁿ Allen	Matthew Groves
William Smith	Richard Smith	Anthony Ravenscraft
Nicholas Mason	William Elliott	James Molt
Phellip Mattoon	Jo ⁿ Wilkins	
Samuel Soutch	John Jones	Sent to Springfield
Thomas Lyon	Thomas Staines	Serg ^t Roger Prosser
Robert Price	Gilbert fforsith	Ely Crow
Thomas Poore	Benjamin Lathroppe	Will ^m Briggs
Peter Bushrodd	Robert Dawes	Jeremiah Norcrosse
Samuel Phesy	Hugh Pike	Will ^m Mitchell
William Willis	Daniel Stearlin	Timothy ffroglie
Thomas Harris	John Verin	Onesephorus Stanly
George Bewly	Jonathan Nicholds	William Crane
William Howard	James Verin	Henery Willis
Phellip Lewes	John Downinge	
Will ^m Hopkins	Joseph Moring	Richard ffancis, <i>Clerk.</i>
Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 212.		

The last list shows the organization of Capt. Turner's force until the "Falls Fight," which will be given in the next chapter.

NO. XVIII.

THE "FALLS FIGHT."

THE disposal of Capt. Turner's forces, from April 7th up to the 25th, is indicated in the above letter. In the closing clause it will be noticed that he speaks of the news which a young man brings in just before he sends the letter away. This was probably John Gilbert, who with Edward Stebbins had been taken captive at Springfield about a month before and carried up the river by the Indians, where Mrs. Rowlandson, in her narrative, speaks of meeting him. Capt. Turner makes note of his information to the effect that the Indians are gathering in great numbers about these towns. Mr. Hubbard, on the other hand, speaks of *two* "English lads" who give information of the unguarded state of the Indians, referring doubtless to Gilbert and Stebbins above mentioned, but confusing with theirs the testimony of another captive named Thomas Reed, who escaped and came in some weeks later. Some idea of the state of feeling among the English inhabitants and soldiers may be gained from this letter of some of the chief actors at the front.

Letter of Rev. John Russell, Capt. Turner and others to the General Court :

Hadly Ap^r 29, 1676

Right Worp^t fⁿ

This morning we received from Hartford these inclosed w^{ch} we were desired to post away ; and have accordingly effected with all speed. Its matter of thankfulness and encouragement to hear that the Lord is in any place going forth wth o^r armies ; and delivering o^r enemies into o^r hands.

We hope if o^r sins hinder not it is a pledge of future & greater me^{re}y.

It is strange to see how much spirit (more than formerly) appears in our men to be out against the enemy. A great part of the inhabitants here would our committees of militia but permitt ; would be going forth : They are daily moving for it and would fain have liberty to be going forth this night. The enemy is now come so near us, that we count we might go forth in the evening, and come upon them in the darkness of the same night. We understand from Hartford some inclination to allow some vol-

unteers to come from them up hither, should that be I doubt not but many of o^{rs} would joyne wth them. It is the generall voyce of the people here y^t now is the time to distresse the enemy; and that could we drive them from their fishing and keep out though but lesser parties against them famine would subdue them. All intelligence give us cause to hope that the Mohawks do still retain their old friendship for us and enmity against our enemies. Some proove of it they have of late in those they slew higher up this River. Two of whom as the Indian messengers relate were of o^r known Indians; and one a Quabaog Indian. And further proof its thought they would soon give; were the obstructions (y^t some English have or may putt in their way) removed and the remembrance of the ancient amity and good terms between them and these colonies renewed by some letters & if it might be by some English messengers. We would not tho. out so good an end as love and zeale for the weale publique, that we should be transported beyond o^r line. We crave pardon for o^r reaching so farr, and with many prayers do desire to beseech the father of mercies and God of all counsell to direct you in the right way; & so praying we remaine

S^r Your Worships most Humble & devoted Serv^{ts}

JOHN RUSSELL	JOHN LYMAN
WILL: TURNER	ISACK GRAVES
DAVID WILTON	JOHN KING
SAMUEL SMITH	DANIEL WARNER

The original, contemporary historians are now so rarely read, that I think it worth while to insert here extracts from two, who wrote within a year of the events they relate. The first was Rev. William Hubbard of Ipswich, the most reliable of all the writers on the subject, who wrote as follows :

“ But the great Company of the Enemy that staid on that Side of the Country, and about *Watchuset Hills*, when the Rest went towards *Plimouth*, though they had been disappointed in their Planting by the Death of *Canonchet*, were loth to lose the Advantage of the Fishing-season then coming in; wherefore having seated themselves near the upper Falls of *Connecticut River*, not far from *Deerfield*, and perceiving that the English Forces were now drawn off from the lower Towns of *Hadley* and *Northampton*, now and then took Advantages to plunder them of their Cattel, and not fearing any Assault from our Soldiers, grew a little secure, while they were upon their fishing Design, insomuch that a couple of English Lads lately taken captive by the Enemy, and making their Escape, acquainted their Friends at Home how secure they lay in those Places, which so animated the inhabitants of *Hadley*, *Hatfield* and *Northampton* that they being willing to be revenged for the Loss of their Cattel besides other preceeding Mischiefs took up a Resolution with what Strength they could raise among themselves (partly out of garison Soldiers and partly of the Inhabitants) to make an Assault upon them, which if it had been done with a little more Deliberation, and waiting for the coming of Supplies from *Hartford*, might have proved a fatal Business to all the said Indians; yet was the victory obtained more considerable than at first was apprehended. For not having much above an hundred and fifty fighting Men in their Company, they marched silently in the dead of the Night, *May* 18, and came upon the said *Indians* a little before Break of Day whom they found almost in a dead

Sleep, without any Scouts abroad, or watching about the Wigwams at Home; for in the Evening they had made themselves merry with new Milk and roast Beef having lately driven away many of their milch Cows, as an English Woman confessed that was made to milk them."

"When they came within the *Indians* Rendezvouze they allighted off their Horses and tyed them to some young Trees at a quarter of a Miles Distance, so marching up they fired amain into their very Wigwams, killing many upon the Place, and frighting others with the sudden Alarm of their Guns, and made them run into the River, where the Swiftnesz of the Stream carrying them down a steep Fall, they perished in the Waters, some getting into Canoes (small Boats made of the Bark of birchen Trees) which proved to them a *Charons* Boat, being sunk, or overset, by the Shooting of our Men, delivered them into the like Danger of the Waters, giving them thereby a Passport into the other World; others of them creeping for Shelter under the Banks of the great River were espyed by our Men and killed by their Swords; Capt. *Holioke* killing five, young and old with his own Hands from under a Bank. When the Indians were first awakened by the thunder of their Guns they cried out Mohawks, Mohawks, as if their own native enemies had been upon them; but the dawning of the Light, soon notified their error, though it could not prevent the Danger."

The other extract is from one of the letters written from Boston, July 22d, 1676, and published in London the following October. The writer signs himself "N. S.," but has never been identified.

"About a Fortnight afterwards, the forementioned Capt. Turner, by Trade a Taylor, but one that for his Valour has left behinde him an Honourable Memory, hearing of the *Indians* being about Twenty Miles above them at *Connecticut* River drew out a Party at *Hadley* and *Northampton*, where there was a Garrison, and 'marching all Night, came upon them before Day-break, they having no Centinels or Scouts abroad, as thinking themselves secure, by Reason of their remote Distance from any of our Plantations; Ours taking this Advantage of their Negligence, fell in amongst them, and killed several Hundreds of them upon the Place; they being out of any Posture or Order to make any formidable Resistance, though they were six Times superior in Number: But that which was almost as much, nay in some respects more considerable than their Lives, We there destroyed all their Ammunition and Provision, which we think they can hardly be so soon and easily recruited as possibly they may be with Men. We likewise here demolisht Two Forges they had to mend their Arms; took away all their Materialls and Tools, and drove many of them into the River, where they were drowned, and threw two great Piggs of Lead of theirs (intended for making of Bullets) into the said River. But this great Success was not altogether without Alloy, as if Providence had designed to Checquer our Joys and Sorrows; and lest we should Sacrifice to our own Nets, and say, Our own Armes or Prowesse hath done this, to permit the Enemy presantly after to take an advantage against us; For as our Men were returning to Hadley, in a dangerous Passe, which they were not sufficiently aware of, the skulking *Indians* (out of the Woods) killed at one Volley the said Captain and Eight and Thirty of his Men; but immediately after they had discharged, they fled."

These extracts of course give only a partial and general view of the march and the fight, and for more than a century no one appeared to investigate for the purpose of giving a more particular account. Gen. Epaphras Hoyt, of Deerfield, in 1824, published a history of the Indian Wars, in which he gives a very full and clear account of this affair, though without entering into statistics, or assigning authority for the many new particulars related by him. He was familiar, however, with all the country round about, and also with the traditions handed down by the descendants of those who were participants in the Indian wars and in this Falls Fight. Other later historical writers have enlarged upon his account and added the results of careful investigations through official records and ancient documents, till, with the patient labors of Rev. Sylvester Judd, and very lately the extensive researches of Hon. George Sheldon, of Deerfield, it seems as though the history of this part of New England must be wellnigh complete. From all the above sources, supplemented by many new hints and evidences afforded by documents preserved in the State Archives and elsewhere, I think the following is a fairly accurate account of the campaign of Capt. Turner in May, 1676, closing with the Falls Fight on the 18th.

After the withdrawal of the army under Major Savage, the Indians seem to have relaxed much of their vigilance, watching mainly for opportunities for plunder wherever the English became careless and exposed themselves or cattle to the chance of capture. In the mean time the situation of the Indians was becoming desperate. The Narragansetts with their allies and many of the Wampanoags had been forced in an almost destitute condition upon the Nipmuck and Pocumtuck tribes for support. These unwonted numbers soon exhausted the never abundant resources of the local tribes, and when Philip's promises of a speedy victory over all the river towns with plunder of their goods were not realized, when the great chieftain Canonchet was taken and slain, and having met the repulses at Northampton and Hatfield, they were reduced almost to starvation, these river and northern Indians began to realize the folly of their too ready alliance with Philip, and put themselves into communication with the authorities at Connecticut, either with a view to real peace, or for the purpose of gaining time by a pretence of peaceful negotiations; at any rate the English entered into the negotiations with great zeal, and sought to turn the home tribes against Philip and the Narragansetts. A price was set upon Philip's head, whereupon that chieftain betook himself with his faithful followers to safer solitudes up the river; and now pending these negotiations, the Indians gathered to the fishing places upon the river in large numbers, hoping here to supply their wants and secure a stock of provisions till they could accomplish the destruction of the towns and secure the corn and cattle of the English. Knowing that the garrisons were small, and feeling secure from attack both by

numbers and distance, they grew careless in sending scouts or placing guards. They had no suspicion of the growing resolution of the English to take the offensive, nor any information of their preparations. A large body of the Indians were gathered near the "Upper Falls" of the Connecticut, divided into several parties, one of which was located on the high ground on the right bank at the head of the Fall, another on the opposite bank, and a third at what is known now as "Smend's Island," about a mile below, and all were intent upon their fishing. Hearing, however, that the English had turned some of their cattle out into Hatfield meadows, a detachment was sent out upon May 12th, and succeeded in "stamping" about seventy head of these cattle, and driving them safely into the woods. This fresh outrage was carried out with impunity, and so enraged the English that they urged to be led out against their enemies at once, and when Reed, abovementioned, came in on May 15th, and disclosed the carelessness of the Indians, it was resolved to wait no longer, but to gather the forces and strike a blow, and on that day Rev. John Russell writes a letter to the Council at Connecticut, informing them of their situation and giving general news. He speaks of their "visitation" by the epidemic distemper or malignant cold which had prevailed at Connecticut (and of which Mr. Mather wrote that he could not hear of a family in New England that wholly escaped); of the peaceful election at Boston on May 3d, and the return of Mrs. Rowlandson from captivity on that day, and letters from Philip, the "Old Queen" and other sachems, proposing terms of peace. He gives the news from Europe, the sufferings of non-conformists, and of a great naval battle between the French and Dutch. Only an extract is here given, being the closing part which relates to the Indian war. The letter is dated Hadley, May 15th. The postscript is by the military officers.

.... "This morning about sunrise came into Hatfield one Thomas Reede a soldier who was taken captive when Deacon Goodman was slain. He relates that they are now planting at Deerfield and have been so these three or four days or more, saith further that they dwell at the Falls on both sides the river, are a considerable number, yet most of them old men and women. He cannot judge that there are on both sides of the river above 60 or 70 fighting-men. They are secure and scornful, boasting of great things they have done and will do. There is Thomas Eames his daughter and child hardly used; one or two belonging to Medfield and I think two children belonging to Lancaster. The night before last they came down to Hatfield upper meadow, and have driven away many horses and cattle to the number of fourscore and upwards as they judge. Many of these this man saw in Deerfield meadow, and found the bars put up to keep them in. This being the state of things, we think the Lord calls us to make some trial what may be done against them suddenly without further delay; and therefore the concurring resolution of men here seems to be to go out against them tomorrow night, so as to be with them, the Lord assisting, before break of day. We need guidance and help from heaven. We hum-

bly beg your prayers, advice and help if it may be. And therewith committing you to the guidance and blessing of the most High, Remain Your Worship's in all humble service,
JOHN RUSSELL."

Although this man speaks of their number as he judgeth yet they may be many more, for we perceive their number varies, and they are going and coming, so that there is no trust to his guess.

WILLIAM TURNER,
JOHN LYMAN,
ISAAC GRAVES.

Preparations had been completed for several days, and the men, gathered from the inhabitants and soldiers of the several towns and garrisons, were appointed to meet at Hatfield at the summons of the commander. Day after day passed, while they waited impatiently the company which Connecticut authorities had ordered to march to their assistance. These, delayed in turn by the failure of the Sachems to appear at a promised meeting, and fearing to make any hostile movement while English captives were held by the Indians, did not move, and so on May 18th Capt. Turner gathered all his available force at Hatfield, numbering upwards of one hundred and fifty rank and file. Of the garrison soldiers I think only volunteers were taken in this expedition, as it would not be safe to weaken the garrison by withdrawing a large number of the men away from the defence of the towns, which was their proper service. A comparison of the lists below will show that a very small number of eastern soldiers are among the claimants, though the list of killed has many names not represented there. A very large part of Capt. Turner's original company had marched home to Boston on April 7th, leaving him with a company of single men, boys and servants, selected from Major Savage's forces, for garrison duty. Of this expedition the officers were William Turner, Captain; Samuel Holyoke, Lieut.; Isaiah Toy (or Tay) and John Lyman, Ensigns; Rev. Hope Atherton, Chaplain; John Dickinson and Joseph Kellogg, Sergeants; Experience Hinsdell and Benjamin Wait were guides.

This company of volunteers, thus officered, and more than one half inhabitants of the several river towns, mounted upon their own horses, and armed as each might be able, or from the garrisons, took up the line of march in the evening of May 18th, from Hatfield towards the Falls, twenty miles away, through the woods. Taking their way northward through Hatfield meadows and on by the road where both Lathrop and Beers had met disaster and death, past the ruins of Deerfield, they crossed the river at the northerly part of the meadow (a late high authority says "at the mouth of Sheldon's brook"), and thus eluded the Indian outpost stationed at a place "now called Cheapside," to guard the usual place of crossing. These Indians, it is said, overheard the crossing of the troops and turned out with torches, and examined the usual ford, but finding no traces there and hearing no further disturbance, concluded that the noise was made by moose, crossing, and so went back

to their sleep. A heavy thunder shower during the night greatly aided the secrecy of the march, while it drove the Indians to their wigwams and prevented any suspicion of an attack. This danger safely passed, the troops rode forward through Greenfield meadow, and, crossing Green river "at the mouth of Ash-swamp brook to the eastward, skirting the great swamp" (says Mr. Sheldon), they at length, about daybreak, reached the high land just south of Mount Adams, where the men dismounted, and leaving the horses under a small guard, pushed on through Fall river and up a steep hill, and halted and silently awaited daylight upon the slope above the sleeping Indian camp. Here all was wrapped in profound sleep. It is said a great feast had been celebrated the night before by the Indians, at which they had gorged themselves with fresh salmon from the river, and beef and new milk from the Hatfield cattle. Not a guard had been set, and no precaution had been made, so secure were they and unsuspecting of an English raid. And now with advancing daylight the sturdy settlers gather silently down and about their unconscious foes, to whom the first warning of danger was the crashing of a hundred muskets, dealing death in at their wigwam doors. Many were killed at the first fire, and scarcely a show of resistance was made. The savages who escaped the first fire were terrified at the thought that their old enemy was upon them, and fled towards the river yelling "Mohawks! Mohawks!" and wildly threw themselves into the canoes along the banks, but many of these, overcrowding the canoes, were thrown into the river and carried over the falls to certain death; others were shot in attempting to reach the other side; others were chased to the shelving rocks along the banks and there shot down. It is said that Capt. Holyoke there despatched five with his own hand. Very few of the Indians escaped, and their loss was computed by contemporary writers at three hundred. One only of the English was killed, and he by mistake, by one of his comrades, and another was wounded in this attack. The soldiers burned all the wigwams and their contents, captured the tools of the Indian blacksmiths who had set up two forges for mending arms, and threw "two great Piggs of lead (intended for making bullets) into the river." But while this was being accomplished, the several larger bodies of Indians upon the river above and below, rallied, and from various quarters gathered in and about the English. A small party as decoys showed themselves crossing the river above, and succeeded in drawing a portion of our force away from the main body only to meet a large force and to regain the command with difficulty. Capt. Turner, enfeebled as he was by his disease, collected and drew off his troops towards the horses, where the guards were about this time attacked by the enemy, who hastily withdrew at the coming of the main body. Mounting their horses, the English began the march for Hatfield. The Indians in increasing numbers gathered upon flank and rear.

Capt. Turner led the van, though so weak from long sickness as scarcely able to manage his horse. The intrepid Capt. Holyoke commanded the rear guard, but in effect conducted the retreat. The Indians advanced upon the left and rear, and several sharp skirmishes ensued while they tried to separate the rear guard from the main. Once Capt. Holyoke's horse was shot down, and he narrowly escaped capture by the Indians, who rushed forward to seize him, by shooting down the foremost with his pistols, till his men came to his aid. On the left of the line of march, nearly all the way to Green river, was a swamp in which the Indians found safe cover. A rumor was started (by an escaped captive, it is said) that Philip with a thousand warriors was at hand, and a panic ensued. The guides differed as to the course, and some following one and some another, disorder prevailed, and the command was broken up. Two parties leaving the main body were cut off and lost. Capt. Turner pushed forward with the advance as far as Green river, and was shot by the Indians while crossing the stream, near the mouth of the brook upon which afterwards stood "Nash's" Mill. His body was found near the place by a scouting party a short time afterwards.¹²⁵

The whole command now devolved upon Capt. Holyoke, who led his shattered force, fighting every rod of the way to the south side of Deerfield meadow to the place now known as the "Bars" (according to Gen. Hoyt's account). That the retreat did not end in a general massacre is doubtless due to the skill and bravery of Capt. Holyoke in keeping the main body together, and in protecting flank and rear while pushing forward to avoid the chance of ambuscades. As it was, they found, on arriving at Hatfield, that some forty-five or more of their men were missing. Rev. Mr. Russell's letter of May 22d gives some account of the losses, and says that six of the missing have come in, reducing the number of the lost to thirty-eight or thirty-nine. Of the Indian losses he gives the report of Sergt. Bardwell that he counted upwards of one hundred in and about the wigwams and along the river banks, and the testimony of William Drew and others that they counted some "six-score and ten." "Hence we cannot but judge that there were above 200 of them slain."

Of the slain of our soldiers the following list is taken from the best available authorities :

Capt. William Turner, Boston.	Experience Hinsdell, Hatfield.
Serg ^t John Dickinson, Hatfield.	John Church, Hadley.
William Allis, " "	Samuel Crow, " "
John Colfax, " "	Thomas Elgar, " "
Samuel Gillet, " "	Isaac Harrison, " "

¹²⁵ Certain Indians who were captured afterwards and carried to Newport and tried for their crimes against the English, testified in regard to the Falls Fight. One Necopeak testified that he saw Capt. Turner after he was shot, while yet alive; that he was wounded in the thigh, and that he told him that he was Capt. Turner. John Chase, of Newbury, in 1735, testified that he was in this expedition and helped to bury the body of Capt. Turner.

John Taylor, Hadley.	George Buckley. ¹²³
Edward Hodgman, Springfield.	Jacob Burton.
George Hewes,	John Foster.
Joseph Pike, " (?)	Joseph Fowler.
James Bennet, Northampton.	Peter Gerin.
John Miller, "	John Langbury.
John Walker, "	Thomas Lyon.
Jabez Duncan, Worcester.	Samuel Rainsford.
John Ashdowne, Weymouth.	Thomas Roberts.
Nathaniel Sutliff, Deerfield.	George Ruggles.
John Hadlock, Roxbury.	John Symms.
Samuel Veze, Braintree.	John Watson.
Josiah Mann, Boston.	William Howard.
John Whitteridge, Salem.	

The two servants mentioned in the following petition were doubtless apprentices whose service was needed by widow Turner about the Captain's business, now left to her management. Buckman (or Bucknam) may have been of Charlestown, son of William. His name appears in a later ledger of John Hull, and John Sawdy was probably son of John of Boston.

To the Honourable Gouvenor And Councill Now Assembled In Boston.

The Humble petition of Mary Turnor

Humbly sheweth that whereas your poor petitioner hath lost her husband in the Services of the Country Ingaging Against the Barbarious & Cruell Heathen the Enemy thereof And having now still two servants named John Sawdy And Samuell Buckman who went out with him in the Country's service att hadley my widowhood estate & Condition for want of Convenient supply of maintenances makes me Bold to suplicate your honours for An order for theire Releas & discharge from the place to which att present they do belong & that your honours will so far Consider my Condition as to order me pay for whatt Is In your honours Judgment my Just: & Consider me In Respect of the Loss of my Husband as your honours shall see mette which shall further Ingage your poor petitioner to pray for your hon^{ors} & this Countries peace & prosperity.

(Endorsed)—"Mrs. Turners petition, 26 June 1676."

Mass. Archives, Vol. 69, p. 21.

Soldiers credited under Capt. William Turner :

April 24 th 1676.		Elias Stiff	02 04 06
John Cunneball	01 04 00	Henry Beresford	02 10 06
June 24 th 1676.		Jonathan Orris	02 04 06
John Coniball	02 04 06	Edward Creek	} 10 02 00
John Broughton	02 10 06	Henry Finch	
Samuel Judkins	02 04 06	John Avis	} 02 04 06
Isaiah Toy	02 04 06	Henry Kerby	
William Parsons }	05 11 00	Thomas Elliott	02 12 00
Joseph Gallop }		Henry Wright	00 06 00
William Jameson	02 10 06	Bartholomew Whitwell	02 04 06
James Knott	02 12 00	Thomas Skinner	03 04 09

¹²³ These whose residences are not found probably lived in some of the towns near Boston.

Matthias Smith	02 02 10	Richard Knight	02 04 06
William Clough	02 08 10	Percivall Clark	02 04 06
Edward Wright	02 14 00	Mark Wood	02 04 06
Joseph Lamson	01 16 00	July 24 1676.	
Joseph Bicknell	01 16 00	Thomas Brissenden	04 16 00
William Turner	03 18 00	John Newman	05 03 09
Joseph Priest	02 04 06	John Simple	02 04 06
Henry Dason	02 04 06	August 24 th 1676.	
Thomas Barnard	02 12 00	William Turner, <i>Capt.</i>	06 06 06
Philip Squire	01 08 00	Samuel Gallop	02 03 08
Ephraim Roper	04 10 10	Philip Jessop	03 13 08
Joseph Bateman	01 16 10	William Turner	05 08 06
Edward Drinker	05 11 06	John Sherly	05 14 00
Samuel Holmes	00 08 06	Edward Samson	01 17 08
Samuel Davis	01 17 08	Josiah Mann	03 13 08
Richard Cheever	03 12 10	John Smith	00 10 02
Robert Seares	03 06 00	Sept. 23 ^d 1676.	
William Turner, <i>Capt.</i>	07 00 00	Thomas Bond	00 06 00
Ezekiel Gilman	03 08 00	Thomas Lyon	10 04 00
Hoo Steward	02 04 06	Roger Jones	08 08 00
Robert Bryan	02 04 06		

The credits above mostly represent those soldiers who served under Capt. Turner from February 20th until April 7th, and the sum £02 04s. 06d. covers the time until their arrival home, about seven weeks and five days from their marching away. After April 7th, those of his soldiers who remained in the West received credit at the several garrisons at which they were located, and their names will appear in that connection; and this is the reason that so few who were in the "Falls Fight" are credited as serving under Capt. Turner. After his death the officers of the garrison signed their vouchers.

The following list is the most important of all these that are preserved pertaining to the soldiers of Capt. Turner, as it contains the names of all the soldiers of whom the committee could find any trace. The grant was made of a township of land, as near as might be to the scene of the "Falls Fight," to all officers and soldiers who were engaged therein. This alphabetical list was evidently kept in the hands of the committee, and new names are added in different hands through several years. A few fragmentary papers are preserved in the archives in connection with this list, that show the methods of proving and identifying claims. A certificate from John Bradshaw, still alive in February, 1735, declares that himself, Mr. Isaiah Tay, late of Boston, deceased, who was a lieutenant under Capt. Turner, and Nathaniel Pierce, of Woburn, were in the fight. John Dunkin, of Worcester, certifies, April 1st, 1735, that his uncle Jabez Dunkin was killed in the fight, and applies as his proper heir. John Chase, of Newbury, certifies that he was in the expedition with Capt. Turner, and helped to bury him,

and that Samuel Coleby, late of Almsbury, deceased, was with him. Some other papers of like tenor are preserved, and several fragments of evidence from town and church records, showing that the committee demanded proofs before granting the claims. The residences of the soldiers were given according to the best knowledge of the committee, very often at loss for any information after the lapse of sixty years. Many of the soldiers, after the war, had removed to interior towns, and their descendants to different states, and sometimes the present residence of the claimant would be given as the supposed home of the soldier ancestor. Very many of the soldiers from the East were single men, boys and apprentices, and when these were killed their names were soon lost, unless some record was made. At Northampton a record of the death of thirteen of the soldiers, who had been in garrison there, together with that of Capt. Turner, is found upon the town books under date of May 19, 1676, with the comment, "all slain by Indians." The committee finding this record, and not knowing otherwise, assigned Northampton, or "North," as their residence. It will be seen that one hundred and thirty-five names appear, while up to 1741 only ninety-nine claimants had been admitted. This may be explained by the fact that so many of those engaged in the affair were strangers in the colony, or mere boys, who left no legal claimants in this country. In other cases it would be difficult to prove relationship such as would entitle to a claim, especially when the soldier ancestor had removed to a distant part of the country.

A List of y^e Soldiers y^t were in y^e Fall Fight under Capt. W^m Turner, approved off by y^e Committee of y^e Gen. Court. (Dated June, 1736.)

Allexander, Nath^l, N. Hamp^t.
 Alvard, Thom^s, Hadfield.
 Atherton, Hope, Hatfield.
 Ashdown, John.
 Arms, William, Hadley.
 ✓ Baker, Timothy, North Hampt.
 Bedortha, Sam^l, Springfield.
 Bennett, James, South Hampt.
 Barber, John, Springfield.
 Burnap, John.
 Bradshaw, John, Medford.
 Burnitt, John, Windham.
 Bushrod, Peter, Northampton.
 Boulwood, Sam^l, Hadley.
 Bardwell, Rob^t, Hatfield.
 Ball, Sam^l, Springfield.
 Burton, Jacob, North.
 Beers, Richard, of Watertown, eldest son of Elnathan Beers.
 Belding, Sam^l.
 Clap, Preserved, Northampton.

Chapin, Japhett, Springfield.
 Crow, Sam^l, Hadley.
 Crowfott, Joseph, Springfield.
 Clark, William, Northampton.
 Church, John, Hadley.
 Coleman, Noah, Hadley.
 Chamberlain, Benja., Hadley.
 Chamberlain, Joseph.
 Colfax, John, Hatfield.
 Cunaball, John, Boston.
 Chase, John, Almsbury.
 Coleby, John, Almsbury.
 Dickenson, John, Hadley.
 Drew, W^m, Hadley.
 Dickenson, Nehemiah, Hadley.
 Dunkin, Jabez, Worcester.
 Edwards, Benj^a, North.
 Elgar, Thomas, Hadley.
 Fuller, Joseph, Newtown.
 Feild, Samuel, Hatfield.
 Forster, John, North.

✓ Fowler, Joseph, North.
 Flanders, John.
 Foot, Nath^l, Hatfield.
 Gleason, Isaac, Spring.
 Grover, Simon, Boston.
 Gerrin,* Peter, North.
 Griffin, Joseph, Roxbury.
 Hitchcock, John, Springfield.
 Hitchcock, Luke, Springfield.
 Hadlock, John.
 Hoit, David, Hadley.
 Hawks, John, Hadley.
 Hawks, Eleaz^r, Hadley.
 Howard, William, North.
 Harrison, Isaac, Hadley.
 Hughs, George, Spring.
 Hinsdell, Experience, Hadley.
 Hodgman, Edward, Spring.
 Hunt, Sam^l, Billerica.
 Harwood, James.
 Ingram, John, Hadley.
 Jones, Sam^l.
 Jones, Robertt.
 Jilett, Sam^l, Hatfield.
 James, Abell, North.
 King, John, North.
 Keett, Franc. Northampton.
 Kellogg, Joseph, Hadley.
 Lee, John, Westfield.
 Lyman, John, North.
 Leeds, Joseph, Dorchester.
 Lenoard, Josiah, Spring.
 Langbury, John, North.
 Lyon, Thomas, North.
 Miller, John, North.
 Merry, Cornelius, North.
 Morgan, Isaac, Springfield.
 Morgan, Jonathan, Spring.
 Miller, Thomas, Spring.
 Mun, James, Alive: Colchester.
 Mun, John, Deerfield.
 Monteague, Peter, Hadley.
 Mattoon, Phillip, Hadley.
 Man, Josiah.
 Nims, Godfrey, North.
 Newbury, Tryall, Boston.
 Old, Robert, Spring.

Pumroy, Medad, North.
 Price, Robert, North.
 Pike, Joseph, Spring.
 Pumroy, Caleb, North.
 Preston, John, Hadley.
 Pratt, John, Malden.
 Pressey, John, Almsbury.
 Pearse, Nath^l, Woburn.
 Rogers, Henery, Spring.
 Roberts, Thomas, North.
 Ransford, Sam^l, North.
 Ruggles, George, North.
 Read, Thomas, Westford.
 Roper, Eph^a.
 Siky, Nath^l.
 Suttleife, Nath^l, Hadley.
 Stebins, Sam^l, Springfield.
 Stebins, Benoni, North.
 Stebins, Thomas, Springfield.
 Smeade, W^m, Northampton.
 Smith, John, Hadley.
 Stephenson, James, Springf.
 Seldin, Joseph, Hadley.
 Scott, W^m, Hatfield.
 Salter, John, Charlestown.
 Simonds, John.
 (Smith, Rich^d.)†
 Turner, Capt. W^m, now Swan'y.
 Tay, Isaiah, L^t, Boston.
 Thomas, Benj^a, Spring.
 Taylor, John.
 Taylor, Jonathan, Spring^d.
 Tyley, Sam^l.
 Veazy, Sam^l, Brantrey.
 Wright, James, North.
 Webb, John, North.
 Webb, Richard, North.
 Waite, Benjamin, Hatfield.
 Witteridge, John, North.
 Walker, John, North.
 Webber, Eleaz^r.
 Wattson, John.
 Wells, Thomas, Hadley.
 White, Henry, Hadley.
 Warriner, Joseph, Hadley.
 Wells, Jonathan, Hadley.
 Worthington, W^m.

* In the Northampton records Peter Jerrin. In Hull's accounts two persons appear in different places, Peter Jennings and Peter Gennings. This may be one of the two.

† This name is in the margin, and was added after the list was made out.

Endorsement of the committee :

By y^e best Acco^t we can come at y^e foregoing is a true list of y^e Soldiers y^t were in y^e falls fight wth y^e Indians under Capt. Turner & for ought appears to us at present y^e Descendants according to y^e acts of y^e General Court are to be admitted to share in y^e Grant of y^e towship above Deerfield granted them.

The following list of claimants was admitted June 23d, 1736, and the name of John Scott, of Elbows, was added, doubtless before the report was accepted, and the figures also were changed. Tho^s Wells, of Deerfield, was then appointed agent for the proprietors. Lots were drawn to the claimants according to the above list, and the settlement progressed. A previous grant to Mr. Fairweather of five hundred acres, together with much mountainous and waste land, reduced the original grant of six miles square to a tract of far less value, so that in 1741, when new claimants began to appear, the proprietors petitioned for and obtained another tract lying contiguous, a "gore" not yet covered by any previous grant. Two new claimants, Samuel Coleby, eldest son of Samuel Coleby, of Almsbury, and Tryall Newbury, of Malden, were admitted to first choice of lots on the new tract, by act of the Court August 1, 1741. Perhaps later claimants were admitted. The grant embraced the present town of Bernardston (at first called "Falltown"), Colrain, Leyden, &c.

A list of Soldiers and Descdts of such as are Deceased that were in the fight called the falls fight above Dearfield who are intituled to the towship granted by the Generall Court, as follows :

Joseph Atherton, Deerfield, only son of Hope Atherton.
 Nath^l Alexander, Northampton, Nath Alexander.
 Thomas Alward, Middleton, eldest son of Thom: Alvard.
 John Arms, Dearfield, son William Arms.
 John Baker, Northampton, son of Timothy Baker.
 Samuel Bedortha, Springfield, son of Sam: Bedortha.
 John Field, Dearfield, Dscnd James Bennett.
 John Barbur, Springfield, son John Barbur.
 John Bradshaw, Medford, John Bradshaw.
 Isaac Burnap, Windham, son John Burnap.
 Sam^l Clesson, Northampton, Desc^t Peter Bushrod.
 Sam^l Boltwood, Hadley, son Sam: Boltwood.
 Sam^l Bardwell, Dear^l, son Rob^t Bardwell.
 John Hitchcock, Springfield, Descend. Sam^{ll}: Ball.
 Stephen Beldin, Nothampton, son Stephen Beldin.
 Richard Beers, Watertown, son Elnathan Beers.
 Samuell Beldin, Hatf^d, Sam^{ll} Beldin.
 Preserved Clap, Nthampton, son Preserved Clap.
 Thomas Chapin, Springfield, son Japheth Chapin.
 Samuell Crow, Hadley, son Samuell Crow.
 Joseph Crowfoot, Wethersfield, Descend^t Joseph Crowfoot.
 William Clark, Lebanon, son William Clark.
 Noah Cook, Hadley, Descend^t Noah Coleman.

Benj^a Chamberlain, Colchester, Benj^a Chamberlain.
 Nath^l Chamberlain, Descend^t Joseph Chamberlain.
 Sam^l Cunniball, Boston, son John Cunniball.
 John Chase, Newbury, John Chase.
 William Dickeson, Hadley, son Nehemiah Dickeson.
 Samuel Jellet, Hatfield, Descend^t John Dickeson.
 Benj^a Edwards, N. Hampton, son Benj^a Edwards.
 Joseph Fuller, Newtown, Joseph Fuller.
 Sam^l Feild, Dearfeild, son Sam^l Feild.
 Nath^l Foot, Colchester, son Nath: Foot.
 John Flanders, Kingston, son John Flanders.
 Isaac Gleeson, endfield, son Isaac Gleason.
 Richard Church, Hadley, Desc^t Isaac Harrison.
 Simon Grover, Malden, son of Simon Grover.
 Samuel Griffen, Roxbury, son Joseph Griffen.
 John Hitchcock, Springf^d, son John Hitchcock.
 Luke Hitchcock, Springf^d, son Luke Hitchcock.
 Jonathan Hoit, Dearf^d, son David Hoit.
 Jonathan Scott, Waterbury, Descend^t John Hawks.
 Eleaser Hawks, Dearf^d, son Eleaser Hawks.
 James Harwood, Concord, son James Harwood.
 John Doud, Middleton, Descend^t Experience Hinsdell.
 Samuel Hunt, Tewsbury, Samuel Hunt.
 William James, Lebanon, son Abell James.
 John ingram, Hadley, son John ingram.
 Sam^l Jellet, Hatfield, son Sam^l Jellett.
 William Jones, Almsbury, son Robert Jones.
 Medad King, N hampton, son John King.
 Francis Keet, N hampton, son Francis Keet.
 Martin Kellog, Suffield, son Joseph Kellog.
 John Lee, Westfield, son John Lee.
 John Lyman, N hampton, son John Lyman.
 Joseph Leeds, Dorchester, son Joseph Leeds.
 Josiah Leonard, Springf^d, son Josiah Leonard.
 John Merry, Long Island, son Cornelius Merry.
 Stephen Noble, formerly of endfield, Des^{nt} Isaac Morgan.
 Jonathan Morgan, Springf^d, son Jonathan Morgan.
 Thomas Miller, Springf^d, son Thomas Miller.
 James Mun, Colchester, James Mun.
 Benj^a Mun, Dearfield, son John Mun.
 John Mattoon, Wallingford, son Phillip Mattoon.
 John Nims, Dearf^d, son Godfrey Nims.
 Ebenezer Pumroy, N hampton, son Medad Pumroy.
 Sam^l Pumroy, N. H., son Caleb Pumroy.
 Samuel Price, Glassenbury, son Robert Price.
 Sam^l Preston, Hadley, Des^t John Preston.
 Thomas Pratt, Malden, son John Pratt.
 John Pressey, Almsbury, son John Pressey.
 Henry Rogers, Springf^d, son Henry Rogers.
 John Reed, Westford, son Thomas Reed.
 Nath^l Sikes, Springf^d, son Nath^l Sikes.
 Nath^l Sutliff, Durham, son Nath: Sutliff.
 Sam^l Stebbins, Springf^d, son of Samuel Stebbins.

Luke Noble, Westfield, Des^t of Thomas Stebbins.
 Ebenezer Smeed, Dearfield, son of William Smeed.
 Joseph Smith, Hatfield, son of John Smith.
 James Stephenson, Springf^d, son of James Stephenson.
 Thomas Selden, Haddam, son of Joseph Selden.
 Josiah Scott, Hatfield, son of William Scott.
 John Salter, Charlestown, son of John Salter.
 William Turner, Swansey, Grandson of Capt. Turner.
 Benjamin Thomas, Stafford, son of Benjamin Thomas.
 Joseph Winchall, jr. Suffield, Descend^t Jonathan Tailer.
 Samuell Tyley, Boston, son of Samuell Tyley.
 Preserved Wright, N. H. son of James Wright.
 Cornelius Webb, Springf^d, son of John Webb.
 Jonathan Webb, Stamford, son of Richard Webb.
 John Wait, Hatfield, son of Benjamin Wait.
 Eleaser Webber, Westfield, son of Eleaser Webber.
 Thomas Wells, Dearfield, son of Thomas Wells.
 Ebenezer Wariner, endfield, son of Joseph Wariner.
 Jonathan Wells, Dearfield, Jonathan Wells.
 William Worthington, Colchester, son of Nicho Worthington.
 John Scott, elbows, Grandson John Scott.

1 The Committee appointed to inlist the officers and Souldiers in
 96 in the fight called the falls fight under the Command of Capt. Wil-
 number liam Turner then Slain and the Descend^{ts} of such as are Deceas-
 97 in ed and that are intituled to the grant of this great and generall
 all Court made them of a towneship, have attended many times that
 service & returne the list above & aforesaid which contains the
 persons names claiming & from whome and which the Committee
 have accordingly allowed all which is Submitted.

Boston June 1736.

In Council June 23, 1736

Read and ordered that this Report be accepted.

Sent down for concurrence.

SIMON FROST, Dep'y Secretary.

Archives, Vol. 114, p. 610.

W^m DUDLEY

EZE. LEWIS

JOHN STODDARD

JOSEPH DWIGHT

JOHN WAINWRIGHT.

Quite a number of the soldiers, as will be noticed, were alive, and presented their claims in their own persons; for instance, Nathaniel Alexander, John Bradshaw, Samuel Beldin, John Chase, Joseph Fuller, Samuel Hunt, James Mun, Jonathan Wells, and very likely many others.

CAPT. WILLIAM TURNER'S FAMILY.

Notwithstanding the notable career of Capt. Turner, all the results of efforts to trace his posterity so far amount to a few accidental clues and inferences, and the following attempt to arrange these is little more than a summary of probabilities. William Turner was of Dorchester from 1642-1664, but no record of marriage or birth

of children is yet found. On Boston town Records, under date of July 31st, 1665, "Sarg^t Will: Turner was ordered to p'vide for himselfe and family in some other place, having carried it ofencively here." He was again admonished August 28th, and, not complying, was, on Sept. 25th, ordered to be presented to the next county court. Of his further persecution, account is given above. On Boston Town Records is found, "Prudence, dau. of William and Frances Turner born October 12th 1665." In Suffolk Registry of Deeds, vol. x. p. 318, William Turner and Mary his wife, relict and executrix to the Will of John Pratt, her former husband, dec'd (*Vide*, Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. vii. p. 36) convey to Jacob Hewins a dwelling-house and three-and-a-half acres of land, etc. This lot was bounded on the south very nearly by what is now Howard Avenue, and lay not very far to the west from the corner of what are now Dudley St. and Howard Avenue in Ward 20. The deed was made April 1st, 1671, and shows that the wife Frances was dead and the second wife Mary, widow of John Pratt, had been married. Their home was doubtless in Boston after 1665. No record is found of the death of this second wife, but in his will above-mentioned, dated February 16th, 1675-6, he mentions Mary his wife, formerly wife of Key Alsop. Now Key Alsop died April 30th, 1672, and she married Capt. Turner probably in 1673-4 as his third wife. Frances, the first, was probably the mother of all his children, but of the place and date of their births no record is found save of Prudence, above-mentioned, and William, of his company, who is identified as his son, by the reference to him in the petition of Mary Turner above given. His will, however, proves that he had sons and daughters living in 1676, and it would seem that the son William was under twenty-one years, as his mother-in-law petitions for his wages as appears above. Thomas and William Turner were serving in the garrison at Marlborough in the summer and fall of 1675, and in the trouble which Lt. John Rudduck had with the Marlborough towns-people, Thomas was first on the list of soldiers, who gave evidence in favor of the Lieutenant, and then disappears from view, but reappears in 1678 at Bridgewater, where, with Joseph Howard, he is appointed surveyor. In 1680 he is at Scituate, where he settles and has children, of whom the second son, William, born Jan. 13th, 1683-4, furnishes the clue which connects this family with Capt. William of the Falls Fight; for this William, son of Thomas, was the same who in 1736 drew Capt. Turner's right in the grant above mentioned, and is styled his "grandson"; he died in Newport, R. I., "Oct. 4th, 1759, in the 77th year of his age," and the correspondence of birth, grant and death, affords the clue. Dr. T. Larkin Turner of Boston has worked out this theory, and following it up I find many other points. From Bristol County Registry I find that in 1710 Josiah Turner, of Swansea, sold to his "brother Thomas Turner, of Scituate, shipwright," a farm in Swansea.

Both were inhabitants of Swansea in 1711. The Province law enacted that the eldest male heir of a soldier-grantee should have the choice of taking the grant and paying off the other heirs their proportional part of £10, which was the established valuation of a share.

The various clues and inferences above seem to point to the following as a fair approximation to the family of

Capt. WILLIAM TURNER and wife FRANCES.

PATIENCE,² bapt. in Dorchester, Nov. 10, 1644. THOMAS,² soldier at Marlborough, 1675; at Bridgewater, Scituate and Swansea, a shipwright, 1678-1715; at latter date he purchased land in Freetown of Constant Church. WILLIAM,² the soldier in the army with his father as noted above, settled in Boston. JOSHUA,² joined 1st Baptist Church in Boston, 1669. JOSIAH,² of Swansea, in 1706, with wife Hannah and children. ELIZABETH,² joined Baptist Church 1676; perhaps m. Alexander Dunkan, July 6, 1698, "married by Mr. Miles." PRUDENCE,² b. in Boston, Oct. 12, 1665. JOSEPH,² who (perhaps) married Sarah Wyman, dau. of Thomas, a "Tailor," 1704.

Second Generation. Line of THOMAS,² of Scituate, etc.

THOMAS,³ b. Sept. 18, 1682. Probably settled in Rochester, Mass., and had family there; perhaps died before 1736, or waived his right or sold it to William his brother, of Swansea.

WILLIAM,³ m. Patience Hale, of Swansea, in 1711. Settled in Swansea, and was quite a large land-owner and a ship-builder. He succeeded to the Indian-War claim of his grandfather, as abovesaid. He was one of the non-resident proprietors who agreed to pay £23 each to carry forward the settlement of the Township. He was of Swansea as late as 1748, but later removed to Newport, R. I., where he died Oct. 4, 1759, in his 77th year. His children, born in Swansea, were: William, b. April 27, 1713, became a physician in New Jersey; and his other children, born between 1714 and 1734, were: Lillis, Nathaniel, Patience, Caleb, and Hale.

ii. REBECCA.³ iv. JOSHUA.³ v. CALEB.³ vi. DAVID.³ vii. JOSEPH.³ viii. BENJAMIN.³ The descendants of these six are scattered through various parts of New England; and Dr. T. L. Turner, of Boston, has in preparation a genealogy of this whole branch of the Turner family, and has furnished much of the material above, for my use in this article.

Second Generation, Line of WILLIAM.²

WILLIAM² Turner, son of Capt. William, a soldier at Marlborough Garrison in the summer and fall of 1675, in the Army with his father from February 21, 1675-6, until the Captain's death, but was not in the "Falls Fight." He served sometime after that, as the accounts of service indicate. Married before 1679, and settled in Boston. Is in a list of handy-craftsmen later. In 1691 was among those who returned from the West Indies, bringing an account of the great earthquake there; 1695, chosen constable in Boston; 1698, tythingman; 1699, clerk of the market; 1701, licensed to sell wine, etc.; 1708, his wife Hannah is licensed to sell wine. His first wife was Ruth, by whom he had Joshua, b. Sept. 28, 1679, and again, Joshua, b. Aug. 20, 1687. He married Hannah Jacklin, Aug. 28, 1689, and had Mercy, b. Feb. 19,

1691; Hannah, b. Feb. 25, 1693; William, b. Dec. 12, 1699; Mary, b. March 29, 1696, and Mary, b. Feb. 28, 1697, are assigned to parents "William and Mary," but probably is a mistake, and should be William and Hannah.

JOSIAH² Turner, son of Capt. William, settled in Swansey with wife Hannah, and had there John,³ b. Nov. 11, 1706; Nathaniel,³ b. March 19, 1709-10.

Thanks are due to Dr. Turner and Messrs. W. B. Trask, J. W. D. Hall, H. O. Wood, and G. H. Tilton, for helpful assistance in the above account of Capt. Turner's family, the results of which do not at all represent the amount of work done,

NO. XIX.

CAPT. JONATHAN POOLE AND HIS MEN.

JONATHAN POOLE, of Reading, was the son of John and Margaret, and was born (probably at Cambridge) in 1634. His father was one of the first settlers of Reading, a large land owner, and doubtless was the wealthiest of the settlers. The family homestead was on the present site of the "Wakefield Rattan Works," and to this and other large tracts of land Jonathan succeeded upon the death of his father in 1667.

His wife's name was Judith, and their children, born in Reading, were—Sarah, born 1656, married 1673, Thomas Bancroft; Judith, born 1658, married 1681, William Hese; Mary, born 1660, died 1661; Mary, 2d, born 1662, married 1682, James Nichols; John, born 1665; Jonathan, born 1667, married Bridget Fitch, 1691-2; Thomas, born 1673; William, born 1677; Elizabeth, born 1678.

Capt. Poole died in 1678, aged 44 years.

In October, 1671, he was appointed Quartermaster, and in May, 1674, Cornet of the "Three County Troop," and still held that office when the war broke out in 1675. In the summer he was in service under Lieut. Hasey, serving as Cornet, and will appear in Hasey's list. In the campaign under Major Appleton in the fall of 1675, we find him in important positions. Sept. 30th he was in command of the garrison at Quabaog. He probably marched his troops, about October 10th, to Hadley, whence he was assigned by Major Appleton to the defence of Hatfield. On October 19th, when that town was attacked, Capt. Poole was in command of a company, and gallantly and successfully defended the north side of the town, account of which is given in Major Appleton's campaign. In this defence, John Pocock, of Capt. Poole's company, was killed. When Maj. Appleton had the command of this army of the west suddenly thrust upon him by the Council, when Major Pynchon resigned, he felt the heavy responsibility and sought to strengthen his position by the choice of his ablest officers to important positions, and was forced to act promptly. He appointed Cornet Poole to a captaincy, and sent word to the Council of his action, but the Council in reply rebuked this assumption of authority on his part,

instructing him that it is his place to recommend a deserving officer, but the Council's place to promote. Upon the necessity to consult the Council more fully than by letters, he sends Capt. Poole personally in charge of his messengers, who evidently made so good an impression upon the worthy magistrates that they recognized the wisdom of Major Appleton, and upon his withdrawal of the main army for the campaign at Narraganset, Capt. Poole was placed in command of the garrison forces in the Connecticut towns, and remained at his post until, at the earnest solicitation of his friends and family, he was relieved by the appointment of Capt. Turner, April 7th, 1676. Of his service during the winter some idea may be gained from the following extract from a letter of Rev. John Russell to the Council:

"Capt. Poole who hath been last here for y^e governm^t of y^e souldiers & as president of y^e Council of warr here doth earnestly intreate for a liberty to repaire to his own very much suffering family at least for a while, We may not be so selvis as to be unsensible to kindnesse to us in his stay here or losse to him thereby so as to hinder y^e promoting of any rationall request cosesting wth o^r publike safety: We are thankfull for what blessing God hath made him to us; desirous to retaine him while not too much to his p^rjudice. He signifies to us y^t there is now here in the army a man of y^e same Town viz. Redding by Name Mr. John Brown whom he judgeth very fitt to oversee the souldiers," &c. &c.

Hadley March 16th 1675-6.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 163.

Credited under Capt. Poole.

October 19 th 1675	John Arnold	02 14 00
Benjamin Hurd 01 10 00	John Jones	06 18 00
Thomas Lasel 02 02 00	April 24 th 1676	
November 20 th 1675	Anthony Ravinscroft "pr Sam	
Simon Burr 01 08 02	Allin "	01 06 00
Joseph Hartshorne 03 17 00	John Dunster	07 06 06
Jacob Hurd 01 01 00	June 24 th 1676	
William Arnold 04 10 00	Richard Silvester	03 03 00
James Pike 04 16 10	Thomas Bishop	09 00 00
Phineas Upham, <i>Lieut.</i> 06 19 04	Benjamin Norden	06 00 00
Abraham Staples 00 10 00	John Wild	09 05 08
Samuel Read 01 00 00	John Knight	11 02 08
December 20 th 1675	John Hall	11 09 00
Benjamin Chamberlain 03 13 08	George Ebern	01 04 00
Walter Hickson 04 10 00	Edward Bishop	07 03 02
John Pemberton 04 03 00	Jonathan Poole, <i>Capt.</i>	05 00 00
January 25 th 1675	Joseph Hartshorn	05 06 08
John Pocock 01 02 04	Samuel Neal	08 00 00
Joshuah Fuller 03 06 00	John French	10 15 00
Joseph Chamberlaine 01 04 00	Increas Whetston	07 03 02
February 29, 1675	Thomas Burges	07 19 02
George Eborne 01 04 00	William Chubb	07 18 06
March 24, 1675.	Jonathan Poole, <i>Capt.</i>	44 05 04
John Laine 09 00 00	William Rayment	04 02 07
Richard Silvester 05 00 00	Thomas Sparks	03 08 06

Zechariah Herrick	03 08 07	Samuel Gatchell	02 14 10
John Clark	03 08 06	Isaac Foster	04 05 08
William Elliot	02 01 00	Benony Mactonell	00 10 02
Benjamin Collins	03 10 00	James Carr	02 18 01
Uzall Wardall	03 08 07	John Duntton	05 09 08
July 24 th 1676		John Dethsidy	04 05 08
Thomas Cooke	09 18 00	Joseph Norman	02 15 08
Joshuah Boynton	02 07 00	Francis Cooke	01 01 03
William Bond	01 00 00	John Prescott	00 12 00
Daniel Smith	01 05 06	Nehemiah Tottingham	00 10 02
August 24 th		Joseph Peirce	00 17 00
Robert Simpson	03 12 00	William Duty	00 15 08
Samuel Nicholson	01 04 00	Joshuah Sawyer	01 00 00
Thomas Smith	01 13 04	Jonathan Poole	13 14 00
John Pengilly	04 07 03	Humphrey Willard,	
Joseph Jacobs	02 14 10	als. Millard	00 10 02
George Crosse	02 14 00	Benjamin Merifield	00 10 02
Elisha Fuller	02 14 10	Thomas Hoppin	00 09 04
John Randall	00 19 68	Joseph Hartshorn	02 16 00
James Miller	00 18 06	Timothy Hewitt	08 19 08
Samuel Graves	02 01 03	Israel Howing	00 10 02
John Hascall	02 14 00	William Pashly	00 18 00
John Day	04 10 00	Josiah White	05 18 09
William Day	00 10 02	William Deane	01 01 09
Joseph Burrell	01 04 00	John Parker	00 10 02
John Smith	01 10 10	Henry Duen	01 00 06
John Fitch	03 00 10	Nathaniel Bray	02 14 00
John Ellitt	03 06 03	Richard Wood	00 17 00
Jonathan Moss	01 10 10	James Clute	01 10 10
Moses Chadwell	01 08 00	Thomas Woolson	00 08 06
Samuel Fisk	01 04 00	Sebius Jackson	01 11 05
Samuel Stainwood	04 10 00	Thomas Browne	00 04 03
John Long	00 17 00	Henry Spring	00 07 00
Jacob Pudenter	01 04 00	Joseph Sherman	01 07 00
James Atkeson	00 11 00	John Stone	01 11 00
Richard Hall	07 19 04	John Graves	05 06 04
John Elsmore	01 02 06	Stephen Pain	00 08 06
Caleb Ray	00 10 04	Josiah Jones	00 15 08
Thomas Vely	01 10 10	Robert Mann	01 18 06
William Stacey	00 12 00	John Stearns	00 08 06
September 23 ^d 1676		John Oyne	00 15 06
John Flanders	02 14 10	Nathaniel Robins	00 12 10
Henry Bragg	04 05 08	Thomas Chamberlaine	03 18 10
Thomas Eaton	02 14 10		

Worke done ffor y^e Soulders by y^e order of Capt: Poole & Commesary
Coaleman of Hattfeild December y^e 10th 1675 by Jacob Gardener

William Arnall—Imprimis. 1 paire of Shewes & }		0: 17: 00
Vamping a paire of bootes }		
John Watson—2 paire of Shewes		0: 16: 00
Anthony Ravenscraft—1 paire of Bootes		1: 00: 00
John Downing—1 paire of Shewes		0: 08: 00

Javish Musgrove—1 paire of Shewes	.	.	.	.	0: 08: 00
Hue Pike—1 paire of Shewes	.	.	.	.	0: 06: 00
Robert Symson—2 paire of Shewes	.	.	.	.	0: 16: 00
Epheram Rigman—1 paire of Shewes	.	.	.	.	0: 08: 00
John Arnall—1 paire of Shewes & Stockins	.	.	.	.	0: 14: 00
Thomas Burges—1 paire of Shewes	.	.	.	.	0: 08: 00
William Briggs—1 paire of Shewes	.	.	.	.	0: 05: 00
Jeremy Clothier—1 paire of Bootes	.	.	.	.	1: 00: 00
Richard Silvester—1 paire of Shewes	.	.	.	.	0: 08: 00
John Hall—1 paire of Shewes	.	.	.	.	0: 08: 00
Mosses Knapp—1 paire of Shewes	.	.	.	.	0: 08: 00
Richard Smith—1 paire of Shewes	.	.	.	.	0: 08: 00
Robert Coates—1 paire of Shewes	.	.	.	.	0: 08: 00
Joseph Hartshorne—1 paire of Shewes	.	.	.	.	0: 08: 00
Tho: Brian—1 paire of Shewes and pouch	.	.	.	.	0: 09: 00
Will: Chub—1 paire of Shewes	.	.	.	.	0: 08: 00
John Hues—1 paire of Shewes	.	.	.	.	0: 08: 00
Benjamin Barret—1 paire of Shewes	.	.	.	.	0: 08: 00

These is to Sertiffie y^e Honoured Commetty; that these two bills was delivered by y^e order of Capt. Poole & my Self ffor y^e use of the soulders and Rec^d by the solgers, by me John Coaleman comisarey of Hatfield.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 69, p. 83.

CAPT. THOMAS BRATTLE AND HIS MEN.

Thomas Brattle was born about 1624. Was a merchant of good standing in Boston in 1656; was of the Artillery Company in 1675. He was an enterprising land-purchaser, and bought large tracts on the Kennebec and the Merrimac, the latter of the Indians. He owned valuable iron works at Concord, and was deputy from that town from 1678–1681; also from Lancaster, 1671–2. Was one of the founders of the Old South Church, and in 1671 one of the commissioners sent to treat with Philip at Taunton; and in nearly all the relations of public life he appears as one of the most active and influential men of the colony. He married, probably in 1656, Elizabeth Tyng, daughter of Capt. William and Elizabeth (Coytemore) Tyng, whose tragic death, Nov. 9th, 1682, is recorded in Judge Sewall's Diary. Their children, born in Boston, were—Thomas, b. Sept. 5, 1657, died same day; Thomas, born June 20, 1658; Elizabeth, born Nov. 30th, 1660; William, born Nov. 22, 1662; Katharine, born Sept. 26, 1664; Bethiah, born Aug. 13, 1666; Mary, born Aug. 10, 1668; Edward, born Dec. 18, 1670. Thomas Brattle was appointed Cornet of the Suffolk Troop, May 30th, 1670; Lieutenant, Oct. 13, 1675; Captain, May 5, 1676. When the war broke out Capt. Brattle was an immediate and important friend of the colony. He loaned the colony two hundred pounds, and in the first few months of the war he is personally credited with cash, supplies and service to the amount of fifteen hundred pounds upon the treasurer's accounts.

Sept. 8, 1675, the Council orders Cornet Thomas Brattle with a party of horsemen under his command, to take fifty soldiers who are appointed to meet him at Lieutenant Thomas Henschman's in Groton, and distribute them according to his discretion in the towns of Dunstable, Groton and Lancaster; and to arrange with the inhabitants for the support and aid of their garrisons; also to settle affairs, so far as possible, with the friendly Indians at Wamesit, Nashoba and Marlborough, to induce the chief Wannalanset to return and live quietly at Wamesit, giving his son as a hostage into the hands of the English, &c. The issue of this affair will appear in the account of the garrisons. Capt. Brattle was engaged in the organization and supply of the several expeditions West and South. He was personally with the forces at Narraganset, in the reorganization of the army after the Swamp fight. On May 15th, 1676, in the expedition to Hassanamesit under Capt. Henschman, Capt. Brattle, with a party of horse, fell upon the Indians between Mendon and Hassanamesit and killed about twenty, of whom four were squaws. The enemy dispersed into the swamps and the main body escaped.

On May 24th, Capt. Brattle "with a troope of horse," about fifty, went in pursuit of the Indians "that had newly done spoyle at Seaconcke." With a small party of foot, he arrived at the Falls of "Pocatuck River," being on the Seaconck side. The Indians appeared on the opposite side in force. Leaving the foot behind, Capt. Brattle led the troopers up the river where they crossed with great difficulty, and soon came down upon the Indians and put them to a disastrous flight, capturing large store of their fish and other supplies, killing several. One of the English was killed, and Cornet Elliot was wounded in the hand. The dead soldier was carried to Seaconck and buried. An Indian boy was captured who testified that these Indians were three or four hundred and belonged to "Nepsachuit." See Col. Records, vol. vii. p. 96, the full letter of the General Court.

June 30th, 1676, Capt. Brattle is sent on an expedition towards Mount Hope with instructions as follows :

Instructions for Capt. Thomas Brattle.

You are to take twenty of your Troope with such officers as you shall see meete, together with an officer & ten Troop^r of Left. Hassey's Troope and with them to march with all expedition to Dedham where are ordered to be an officer with eighteen foote souldiers mounted from Dorchester, sixe from Roxbury and twenty from Dedham with an officer. All appointed to be at Dedham the Rendevous this day at fower of the clock this afternoone, whom you are to take under your Conduct and the officers and souldiers are Required to obey you as theire Commander for this Service of the Country. You are to march with your Troopers & Dragoons to be at John Woodcocks by midnight where you shall meete with an Indian Pylot and two files of musketeers which Pylot hath engaged to bring

you upon Phillip & his Company who are not above thirty men as he saith & not ten miles from Woodcocks; be sure to secure your Pylot to prevent falsehood and escape. You are to endeavour with your utmost diligence to Come up with the enemy and Coming up with him, or any other of them, you are to subdue kill and destroy, in your marches take heed of Ambushments and see you keepe your souldiers in Comand and that they moove with as much sylence as may be, that you be not prevented. In case the ennimy should be past to Mount Hope and that you Can meete with Plymouth forces you are to Joyne with them. If upon Intelligence you may probably Come up with ennemy to fight subdue & destroy them.

ffor that you are victualled onely for sixe days, you are to order that your march out may be proportionably thereto for your Returne unless by the longer stay you shall see you have very probable advantage against the enemy & you may have Recrute of proper officers from our Confederates or cann timely notice to us to send you supply.

In Case you meete not with a Pylot at Woodcocks you are to send to Mr. Newman at Rehoboth and lett him know of your being there, and wayting to endeavour to surprise Phillip; And In case that faile, if upon Intelligence you have oppertunity to fall upon any other of the ennemy you are to attend that; Upon all occasions & opportunity you are to Advise us of your motions and of Gods deallings with you; for your so doing these are your order and warrant. Given at Boston the thirtieth day of June 1676.

By the Gouvernour & Council of the Massachusetts.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 69, pp. 24, 25.

J. L. G.

In this expedition Capt. Mosely was joined, as related by Mr. Hubbard. The plan was carried out, but when they arrived at the swamp they found the wily chief and his body guard "newly gone." They however joined with the Plymouth forces under command of Major Bradford, and succeeded, before their return home in the latter part of July, in securing the Plymouth and southern towns, and in killing or capturing one hundred and fifty of the enemy.

Capt. Thomas Brattle died April 5th, 1683. He left, it is said, the largest estate* in New England at that time. His son Thomas administered upon the estate. This son Thomas graduated at Harvard 1676, and was eminent for his scholarship, especially in mathematics. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, which was a mark of great distinction to an American. He was celebrated for his opulence, talents and benevolence; was treasurer of Harvard College from 1693 to his death, May 18, 1713. He

* In the old Court files, Book 8, is preserved the following, which may be of interest as describing Capt. Brattle's Kennebec grant:

"Thomas Brattle in behalf of himself & other the Heirs of Capt. Thomas Brattle, Mr. Antipas Boyes, Mr. Edward Tyng & John Winslow claims a certain Tract of Land in America in or between & extending from the utmost Bounds of Cobbesconte which adjoineth to the River of Kennebeck towards the Western Ocean, and a Place called the Falls at Nequamkeek & a Place of fifteen English Miles on both Sides the River called Kennebeck River & all the said River that lyeth within the said Limits & bounds Eastward, Westward, Northward & Southward as per Deed from the Govern^{mt} of Plimouth Colony dated 27 Octor 1661 & Orderly recorded.

A true copy Examined

pr Tho^s CLARKE Dep^y Sec^y.ty."

was never married. William Brattle, second son of Capt. Thomas, graduated at Harvard College in 1780, and received degree of B.D. in 1692, and in 1696 was ordained pastor of the church in Cambridge. He was a celebrated scholar and preacher, being especially liberal for his time. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Nathaniel Hayman, of Charlestown, Nov. 3, 1697, and by her had two sons, of whom William, the eldest, inherited his grandfather's Narraganset claim.

Soldiers Credited under Capt. Thomas Brattle.

October 19, 1675			Richard Hall	01 18 10
George Berbeck	00 10 00		Paltiel Grover	01 12 10
Dec. 20 th			Thomas Adams	00 15 08
John Paison	00 10 00		Francis Cooke	01 00 00
Caleb Graunt	00 10 00		Samuel Williams	01 17 06
Samuel Thacher	00 10 00		John Wells	02 17 00
Thomas Brattle, <i>Lieut.</i>	01 05 00		John Needham	01 12 10
John Bennet	00 10 00		John Long	01 05 06
John Willington	00 10 00		Elisha Foster	01 04 08
Solomon Phips	00 10 00		Samuel Maxfield	01 04 08
Samuel Williams	00 10 00		Evan Jones	01 04 08
Samuel Minott	00 10 00		William Harsey als. Hasye	01 12 10
William Kent	00 10 00		John Needham	00 07 00
Samuel Payson	00 17 00		David Freeman	01 03 06
March 24 th 1675			Benjamin Mills	01 03 06
John Needham	00 14 02		John Pason	00 10 00
John Bennitt	01 14 02		Samuel Church	01 07 00
August 24 1676			John Stearnes	01 07 00
Ebenezer Williams	01 12 10		Josiah Jones	01 02 00
Joshuah Henshaw	01 07 06		Increases Twing als. Winne	01 12 10
William Kent	02 11 00		Patrick Morrene	01 00 00
John Newell	00 19 08		Timothy Dwight	00 15 04
Richard Scott	02 02 00		Henry Spring	01 07 00
John Pinder	00 15 08		John Kendall	01 12 10
James Chevers	00 18 09		Ephraim Regimant	01 00 00
James Francklin	00 15 08		Thomas Holman	02 02 10
John Oynes	00 15 08		Timothy Dwight	00 08 08
John Barrett	01 12 10		Joshuah Lambe	02 02 10
Justinian Holden	00 15 08		Francis Coard	01 00 00
Joseph Birch	01 12 10		Thomas Robinson	00 18 08
Thomas Leonard	00 15 08		September 23 ^d 1676	
Moses Paine	01 11 05		Thomas Browne	01 02 10
John Waiard als. Ware	01 14 03		Samuel Gary	00 19 08
Obediah Wood	00 15 08		John Winter	01 02 10
Hugh Taylor	00 15 08		James Bird	00 12 09
Jonathan Atherton	01 10 00		Timothy Hawkins	01 00 00
Ebenezer Heiden	01 11 05		Daniel Smith	01 02 10
John Bennitt	02 02 09		John Tolman	02 01 05
Richard Francis	01 00 00		Edward Couch	01 04 06
Denis Syhy	02 17 09		John Turtle	01 12 10
Moses Paine	01 08 07		Samuel Stone	01 02 10
John Smith	00 12 09		Thomas Peirce	01 12 10

Zechariah Fowle	00 08 06	William Ager	01 05 08
John Blackman	00 10 02	John Allice	01 02 02
James White	01 02 08	Richard Wood	01 17 00
Samuel Parker	01 03 06	Joshuah Sayer	01 14 03
James Pemerton	00 14 03	Thomas Pemberton	03 05 08
Daniel Greenland	01 12 10	John Mason	01 12 10
Anthony Howard	01 08 06	Nathaniel Rowleston	01 02 10
Daniel Champney	01 02 10	James Miller	01 00 00
Joseph Sherman	01 07 00	Charles Davenport	00 13 00
William Bond	01 02 10	Jonathan Gilbert	02 00 00
James Baker	01 04 06	Samuel Sumner	00 19 08
Daniel Ruff	01 04 00		

NO. XX.

CAPT. JOSEPH SILL AND HIS MEN.

JOSEPH SILL (or as it is variously spelled, Syll, Scill and Scyll) was the son of John and his wife Joanna, of Cambridge, 1637-8, and was born there about 1639. He married, December 5, 1660, Jemima, daughter of Andrew and Elizabeth (Danforth) Belcher, of Cambridge, and had children—Andrew, born February 5, 1665-6, died June 12, 1666; Jemima, born September 21, 1667, who married December 21, 1687, John Hall, of Medford, and inherited for him her father's Narragansett claim; Elizabeth, born September 12, married November 12, 1685, Samuel Green, Jr.; Andrew and Thomas, of whose births no record is found.

Capt. Sill was called into military life early in the war, and served almost continually, in important times and places, till its close. When Capt. Richard Beers marched with his company up to relieve the garrison at Brookfield, Aug. 5th, 1675, Sill was his lieutenant, and shared the fortunes of the company in that campaign; was probably in the fight at "Sugar-Loaf Hill" on August 25th; but was probably left at Hadley in command of the rest of the company when Capt. Beers, and his twenty-six men, marched to the relief of Northfield on September 3d, and were ambushed and nearly all slain on the 4th, on what is since known as "Beers's Plain." After that disaster he remained in command of the remnant of the company for the rest of the campaign, and up to October 5th, when he is mentioned in Capt. Mosely's letter as having gone with Captain Appleton and a company of one hundred and ninety men to protect Springfield. On October 4th a letter from the Council to Major Pynchon directs that "Lieut. Scill be dismisst dhome to his family," and his soldiers to make up some of the other companies as the Major thinks best.

In a letter from Capt. Appleton at Hadley, October 17th, Capt. Sill is mentioned as being still in command of a company of sixty men; but he had evidently returned home before November 1st, as

upon the 2d he was called out again and given commission with the following instructions :

Orders and Instructions for Capt. Joseph Syll.

By virtue of An order pr. Council impowring mee to give you Instructions &c.

1] You are to Take charge of the soldiers raised from Charlestown, Wattertown & Cambridge; which are about sixty men; & being fitted & furnished with Arms, Ammunition & provision for a weeke; you are to march away; forthwith to Naticke & there take such trusty indian guides with you (as Corporall watson hath p^rpared for that purpose) & then march away wth all convⁿt speed to Hassanamesitt (an indian plantation neare nipmuck River) from whence you are to send intelligence unto Captain Daniel Henschman who with his company is marched to Mendon; informing him y^t you are ordered to joyne with him to pursue the enemy, whom we heare is come down to a place called Packachooge about 7 miles from Hassanamesit Norwest, & hath killed and surprised some of o^r neighbour Indians that were gathering corne there; and as wee have ground to feare hath latly Attacked marlbrow.

*Joshua
of the m*

2] Being joyned with Capt. Henschman you are to be under his order and joyntly to seeke out for the enemy at y^e said place or any other place where you can understand hee is; and if you meet the enemy you are to use your best skill & force to surprise, sease kill and destroy the enemy; and to receive and release any of our friends either English or Indians y^t are taken or injured by him;

3] You are to be very careful to send forth scouts; before you to discover the enimies quarters & if it may bee to com upon him in the night.

4] You are carefully so to march y^r men in the woods so y^t if it be possible to avoide or shunne or well serch before you com to neare all thick places as swamps or thicketts wher the enemy uses with subtilty to lurke in Ambushments.

5] You are in all yo^r Attempts & enterprises to have yo^r harts lifted up to God in Ch^t Jesus; who is the Lord of hosts & God of armies that hee will give his p^rsence with you & assistance unto you & yo^r Company in all yo^r undertakings not trusting or relying upon the Arme of flesh but upon the Lord alone from whose greatness Blessing & p^rsence all good comes.

6] And you are carefully so to demeane yo^rselfe in yo^r conv^sation y^t you may give yo^r soldiers a good example in piety & vertue & so govern the soldiers under yo^r command y^t yo^r campe may bee holynes to y^e Lord & to this end you have y^e military laws printed and published, which are for yo^r rule & direction in that matter.

7] If you finde a considerable quantity of corne at Packachooge if you can save it wee give it you and yo^r soldiers together wth Capt. Henschman and his soldiers for plunder.

So desiring the ever living Lord God to accompany you & yo^r company with his gracious conduct and presence, And that he will for Ch^ts sake approve in all the mounts of difficulty; & cover all yo^r heads in the day of Battle & deliver; the blood-thirsty & cruel enemy of God & his people into yo^r hands, & make you executioners of his just Indignation upon them and returne you victorious unto us We comitt you & yo^r company unto God & remaine Yo^r very Loving freind DANIEL GOOKIN, Sen^t.*

November the 2^d 1675.

* Thus signed, and then scratched out and the Council's authority substituted by the Secretary, as shown on next page.

These orders & Instructions past by the Council November 2, 1675.

E. R. S.

[Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 40.]

The account of this expedition has been given in part in connection with Capt. Henchman's company, but many additional particulars, and, indeed, the most reliable account attainable now is given in Gen. Daniel Gookin's account of the "Praying Indians." It would seem by his account that the chief cause of this expedition of Henchman and Sill, was the capture by the hostile Indians of three of the villages of the "Praying" or "Christian" Indians, viz.: Magunkog (Hopkinton), Hassanamesit (Grafton) and Chobonokonomum (Dudley). Capt. Sill was at Hassanamesit on November 6th, having with him as guides six of the Natick "Praying Indians," of whom the principal were James Quannapohit and Eleazer Pegin. These two, with about a dozen of the company, went out to scout, and discovered seven hostile Indians leading away a white boy captive. The hostiles fled, but were so closely pursued by the Natick scouts that they were forced to abandon the boy, who was taken by our Indians and brought back to Capt. Sill. This boy's name was Christopher Muchin, a servant or apprentice of Peter Bent, a miller at Marlborough; and he told the Captain that he was seized the day before at Bent's mill, and that Bent's son, a lad of about nine years, was taken at the same time, scalped and left for dead—who, however, recovered. After this Capt. Sill's company joined with Capt. Henchman's, and under the latter's command all marched to a place called Packachooage (southerly part of Worcester), and there encamped for one night in two large wigwams recently left by the Indians. In this place, as well as in others on the way, quantities of corn were discovered, and much of it burned, but no Indians were found except by the small scouting parties led by the Naticks. The companies marched back to Hassanamesit and there separated before November 10th, and Capt. Sill marched with his company to Marlborough and Sudbury, where he was located on November 16th, but marched to Springfield immediately, and on the 20th, in the disposal of the troops by Major Appleton into the garrisons for the winter, thirty-nine of his men were left at Springfield under command of Lieut. Niles. Capt. Sill was thereafter employed in guarding the supplies and conducting affairs, under Major Willard's orders, at the various garrisons as there was need, and was with the army at Narraganset after the Swamp fight. He was sent with a company of dragoons, with some sixty carts, to bring off the inhabitants of Groton. The line of carts was said to be over two miles long, and the convoy of some fifty men very inadequate when stretched out to that length. This line was ambushed and attacked, but either the Indians were too few in number, or the long line of carts, with their guard, was too formidable or awkward to handle, so that

having killed two of the advance guard at their first fire, and the guards not being thrown into confusion by the attack, but quickly rallying under their captain and preparing for defence, the Indians, after a few desultory shots from their safe covert, retired.

The following paper will show something of the kind of service in which Capt. Sill was engaged during this time.

At a Council held at Boston the 21st of 1: Month, 1675-6

It is ordered that Capt. Syll give forth his orders to the several Constables of Charlestowne, Cambridge, Watterton, Sudbury & Marlboro forthwith to send in to him the horses & men y^t were under his command formerly for the carriage of Ammunition and provision from Northbrow to Brookfield (or in default y^t of to impresse so many) & Maj^r Willard is ordered forthwith to appoynt said Capt. Syll: twenty troopers & Dragoones of Essex & Norfolke men to guard the said to the place appointed; and after the delivery of the said provisions & Ammunition at the Garrison there the said Syll is ordered to returne home and dismiss the said Horses & men & Returne the troopers & dragoones to Maj^r Willard & attend his further orders.

It is further ordered y^t Capt. Syll cause the Coopers at Cambridge & Charlestowne to make so many 4 gallon runletts to put powder in as may suffice to carry 200^{lb} powder from Marlborow to Brookfeild for the Country service.

Past E. R. S.

It is ordered by the Council, That the Commissary of Marlborow deliver to Capt. Syll such Ammunition and Provisions as his horses and Company can carry to Brookfield & after y^e delivery of y^e same to him, the said Commissary is to returne home, comitting what is remaining of the magazine at Marlborough unto Decon William Ward's care.

E. R. S.

[Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 170.]

Mr. Hubbard in his History says :

After this *April 17*. Capt. Sill, being appointed to keep Garrison at *Groton*, some *Indians* coming to hunt for Swine, three *Indians* drew near the Garrison-house supposing it to have been deserted; two of them were slain by one single shot made by the Captain's own Hands, and the third by another Shot made from the Garison.

On April 27th six companies were raised, three of foot under Capt. Sill, Cutler and Holbrook, the horse under Capt. Brattle, Prentice and Henschman, and sent to repress certain "Insolencies" of the enemy, and to range the woods towards Hassanamesit. There, guided by the Natick scouts, our horsemen fell upon quite a large party of the enemy and captured or killed sixteen, account of which has heretofore been given in the chapter devoted to Capt. Henschman.

These forces were released on May 10th, owing to the troublesome distempers resulting from an "epidemical cold" at that time prevalent throughout the country; but the release was only till such time as the troops had generally recovered and were needed. The occasion came, and on May 30th the same forces were called out again and marched to Brookfield, where they were to meet the forces of

Connecticut ; but they came upon a body of Indians, " fishing in Wes-hacom Ponds towards Lancaster," of whom they killed seven, and captured twenty-nine, the latter mostly women and children. This affair occurred on May 7th, and necessitated delay and a return to Marlborough for supplies, so that when they arrived at Brookfield the Connecticut forces had marched to Hadley, where ours joined them on the 14th, two days after that place had been attacked by a large body of the enemy, who, busily watching the advance of our forces from Marlborough, seem to have missed the Connecticut companies coming into the town, and were surprised at their presence, and fled precipitately when a shot from a small cannon struck an outlying house which some of them were plundering. The Connecticut soldiers pursued them for some miles up the river, and killed several, but could not overtake or flank them. The Massachusetts forces arrived on May 14th, and the united forces, with the Mohegans, amounted to about one thousand men. Major Talcot, with the Connecticut troops, on the 16th, marched up on the west side of the river, and Capt. Henchman with those of Massachusetts on the east side. A heavy rain-storm prevailed during several days, drenching them, and spoiling most of their ammunition and provision. They returned to Hadley on the 18th, and Major Talcott two days later marched homeward with his force, while Capt. Henchman with his troops remained several days diligently searching for the enemy ; but not finding them, and fearing they were gathering towards the eastern towns, he marched homeward about June 24th. Capt. Henchman's letter (published in Mr. Hubbard's History, Vol. I. p. 236, last edition) gives an account of the experiences of this march home. Capt. Sill was selected to command a force consisting of about one hundred foot, a troop of horse and the company of friendly Natick Indians, and to scout from Quonsigamon pond towards Wachuset and thence to "Nashaway and the Weshakem Ponds," and join the main force, awaiting probably at Brookfield or Marlborough. The result of this scouting expedition under Capt. Sill is not found recorded. The enemy were now scattered towards Plymouth Colony and into the eastern parts, about Dover, Wells, and as far as Casco Bay.

The main part of the troops in this campaign was dismissed early in July, but about the first of September we find Capt. Sill again in command of a company and marching to the eastward to protect the frontier settlements now threatened by the many hostile Indians who had taken refuge with the tribes in those parts. At Dover (or "Cochecho"), on September 6th, his company, together with that of Capt. Hathorne, found four hundred Indians who were gathered at Dover at Major Waldron's, with whom the neighboring tribes had made peace. The Captains Hathorne and Sill were commissioned to seize and kill all Indians who had been concerned in the war, and there were many of these mixed in with the peaceful tribes

and had come hither under their protection and pledge. The Captains urged their commission, and Major Waldron urged his duty and pledge of hospitality; but finding them determined he compromised the matter by planning a stratagem by which some two hundred of the hostile Indians were made prisoners, while Wanalanset and his Pennacooks, Ossipees and Pequakets were allowed to depart unharmed. The account of this transaction will properly fall under the chapter concerning Major Waldron.

Two days after this affair these companies, together with some of Major Waldron's and Capt. Frost's men, marched on to the eastward as far probably as Falmouth, but, finding no enemy and all the settlements deserted or destroyed, they returned to Piscataqua, and were in these parts on October 3d, as mentioned in a letter of Gen. Denison to the Council. Capts. Sill, Hunting and Frost are said to be there under command of Capt. Hathorne. It was there, about this time, that some insubordination or other objectionable conduct occurred, which occasioned the following action of the Court on October 17th, 1676.

Whereas Capt. Joseph Syll hath heretofore binn employed in the countrys service, as commander of a company, & that information is given that of late he hath carried himself offensively in that place, this Court doth thefore order, that the said Syll be forthwith dischargd from that imploy, & some other meet person appointed in his room.

[Colony Records, Vol. V. p. 126.]

I find no explanation of this in any other place, and no subsequent action by the Court concerning Capt. Sill, save that indicated in the answer to the petition below, which appears also, in Colony Records, Vol. V. p. 506. Mr. Hubbard's account indicates that Capt. Sill still held his command, and went with Capt. Hathorne on the march in November, 1676, to Ossipee and Pequaket. Sometime before November 7, 1681, Capt. Sill removed to Lyme, Conn., where he was living at that date. He died at Lyme, August 6, 1696. His son Thomas was a ship master, lived in Boston in 1699, and was probably the Capt. Sill who died there in May, 1709.

Credited under Capt. Joseph Syll.

November 30 th 1675			
Benjamin Dowse	00 14 06	Gershom Swan	03 00 06
✓ Joshua Begalow	00 14 06	Nath ^l Sanger	00 14 06
John Bond	00 14 06	Samuel Peirce	04 16 00
James Kellon	00 14 06	Samuel Butterick	04 16 00
Samuel Cutler	00 14 06	Roger Jones	04 16 00
George Dell	00 14 06	Joseph Syll	03 06 09
Jonathan Smith	00 14 06	December 20 th 1675	
Isaac Larned	00 14 02	Daniel Warrin	00 10 04
Paul Wilson	00 14 06	Joseph Waite	00 14 06
Nathaniel Hely	00 14 06	William Sheaf	01 03 08
John Chadwick	00 14 06	Nathaniel Frothingham	00 17 00
		William Bodman	00 14 06

2 weeks + 3 days' service = 14.06 (about)

6 sh. per week.

Peter Frothingham	00 14 06	April 24 th 1676	
Amos Marrett	00 14 06	Daniel Magennis	02 08 00
Zachariah Brigden	00 14 06	Thomas Adams	01 08 02
Samuel Cooke	00 14 06	Thomas Talley	01 06 06
William Browne	00 14 06	William Pashly	01 12 06
John Bicknell	00 14 06	Thomas Polly	00 15 04
Thomas Moussell	01 04 03	Samuel Cleaveland	02 04 06
Timothy Cutler	00 02 06	William Vines	01 09 02
James Smith	00 02 06	Daniel Hudson	02 02 00
Elnathan Beeres	00 14 06	Richard Taylor	00 14 10
Nathaniel Bersham	00 14 06	Jonathan Crisp	01 13 00
John Oyne	00 14 06	Thomas Whitney	03 11 00
Thomas Hamond	00 14 06	Philip Jones	03 01 00
John Barnard	00 14 06	June 24 th 1676	
William Richardson	00 17 06	George Adams	01 08 02
Thomas Rand	00 14 06	Samuel Lampson	02 19 06
Joseph Dana	00 14 06	Thomas Adams	01 08 02
Thomas White	01 04 09	Joseph Peirce	01 06 00
January 25 th 1675-6		James Bernard	03 05 00
Andrew Stimson	00 14 06	Francis Shepheard	01 05 08
Samuel Gibson	00 17 00	Ephraim Bemish	03 05 00
William Barret, Lt.	01 03 08	Josiah Hobbs	03 06 00
John Crary	00 16 02	Josiah Clarson	02 07 10
John Hastings	00 17 00	Joseph Simons	02 07 10
Jason Russell	00 14 06	Sebread Taylor	02 07 00
John Squire	00 14 06	Henry Harris	02 06 02
Samuel Buck	00 14 06	Jonathan Laurence	01 14 06
Samuel Robins	00 14 06	Joseph Lambson	01 05 08
Abraham Spencer	01 19 00	Zachariah Brigden	02 08 00
Solomon Prentis	00 09 06	Joseph Bickner	01 05 08
John Simpull	00 14 06	Jacob Amsden	03 00 00
John Melven	00 14 06	Paul Wilson	01 02 02
John Crumwell	00 14 06	William Twing	01 05 08
John Bradshaw	01 05 08	John Chapman	03 19 06
James Holland	00 09 04	John Figg	01 05 08
Benjamin Rice	00 12 00	William Gill	03 03 00
William Crouch	01 19 04	Simon Rogers	01 05 08
Thomas Foster	01 04 05	Joseph Smith	01 09 00
Josuah Eaton	00 14 06	Theophilus Thornton	01 05 08
February 29 th 1675-6		Nicholas Bullis	01 05 08
Joseph Syll, Capt.	07 10 00	Joseph Bateman	01 05 08
Thomas Hovey	02 00 00	Ambros Mackfasset	00 14 06
Benjamin Russell	01 10 00	Moses Wheat	01 10 10
Robert Burdall	01 10 00	Jeremiah Mosse	03 10 00
John Foskett	00 18 00	Samuel Lewis	01 10 00
Obadiah Searl	01 10 00	John Barnard	05 15 10
March 24 th 1675-6		Humphrey Miller	02 07 02
Zachariah Sawtell	02 05 04	Thomas Region	01 16 00
John Barrett	01 10 00	Timothy Cutler	01 09 00
Abraham Cosens	01 08 02	Richard Griffin	01 07 04
James Wheeler	01 08 02	Zechariah Brigden	01 09 02
John Gleeson	01 08 02	Joseph Needham	04 01 00
		Samuel Taylor	03 06 00

Samuel Parry	01 09 00	Jonathan Smith	02 04 06
James Barnard	04 01 00	Ellis Barron	03 18 00
John Gale	01 08 02	John Cutler	01 11 08
Simon Stone	03 11 00	Samuel Perry	01 18 06
John Clary	02 08 00	Benony Macktonnell	03 06 00
Joseph Blanchard	01 08 02	Benjamin Symons	03 00 00
Jesse Emsden	03 12 00	Samuel Gallup	01 06 06
Jonathian Kettle	02 03 08	Jonathan Parker	01 09 00
Samuel Bickner	01 15 02	Zechariah Cuttin	02 14 10
Hopewell Davis	01 16 00	Henry Prentice	03 10 00
John Mirick	02 03 08	John Streeter	03 06 09
July 24 th 1676		Jonathan Parker	01 01 04
Joseph Clark	11 05 03	Nathaniel Greene	02 04 06
Moses Whitney	03 05 00	John Weld jun ^r	01 06 06
John Goodwin	02 18 00	Benjamin Burges	01 06 06
Samuel Damman	00 17 00	Zechariah Padlefoot	01 06 06
John Fisk	03 12 00	James Atkesson	00 07 08
Hopewell Davis	01 09 00	John Sanders	02 19 00
Nathaniel Kettle	00 18 00	Joseph Lowe	02 09 08
Jonathan Cary	01 05 00	Zacharius Brigden	01 00 06
Thomas Mitchinson	02 13 00	John Bateman	02 07 00
Richard Woods	01 06 06	Joseph Waight	00 15 04
Henry Salter	01 10 10	Thomas Frost	00 14 06
August 24 th 1676		William Ball	00 04 02
John Chapman	02 08 10	Caleb Ray als. Rey	00 06 10
Jonathan Barker	01 06 06	William Butter	02 19 02
Jonathan Remmington	09 08 08	Zechariah Hicks	01 00 06
William Stephens	03 13 08	Peter Edgerton	03 03 00
Ambros Mackfasset	02 18 00	Joseph Mayo	02 09 00
John Tarball	03 13 10	John Dunton	01 02 02
Mathew Griffin	04 08 09	Nehemiah Tatingham	03 05 00
Thomas Hall	01 10 00	Thomas Chamberlain	01 09 02
Edward Smith	03 13 00	Stephen Francis	01 18 03
Samuel Scripture	02 04 06	Justinian Houlding	00 16 03
Ambros Mackfasset	00 04 02	Joseph Holland	02 08 10
William Tarball	02 04 06	John Barnard	00 18 00
Joseph Harris	01 10 00	Humphrey Willard	03 01 08
John Salter	00 16 02	Benjamin Merifield	00 11 00
Thomas Whitney	00 04 02	George Dill	01 16 10
Thomas Chadwick	01 10 10	John Mudg	03 12 10
Samuel Lord	01 15 10	James Miller	00 04 02
Cornelius Church	03 13 00	John Salter	00 09 04
John Walker	01 10 10	Daniel Woodward	00 15 04
Theophilus Philips	03 12 06	Hopewell Davis	02 08 00
Jacob Waters	00 07 08	Isaac Laurence	02 14 00
Thomas Parker	04 19 09	James Wallis	00 14 06
Ephraim Philips	02 04 06	John Roby	01 16 00
Thomas Farmer	02 04 06	Alexander Steward	00 14 02
John Barbeene	02 15 00	John Parker	00 14 06
Jonathan Whitney	03 13 08	John Knight	02 14 00
John Elliott	02 07 00	Abraham Whitaker	02 15 08
Joseph Symons	01 18 60	Mathew Clark	02 15 08

Nicholas Browne	02 15 08	Philip Gleson	00 17 00
John Hartshorn	02 15 08	Daniel Maginis	04 13 00
Joseph Syll, Capt.	06 00 00	Thomas Dawby	00 14 10
Jacob Bullard	02 04 06		

The names of those who served under Capt. Sill after September 23d, 1676, were credited in a later Journal now lost. The following interesting document explains itself.

To the honored Generall Court assembled at Boston the Petition of
Joseph Sill,

humbly sheweth

That your petitioner accounts it a great priviledge that from his childhood he hath bin trained up, and hath spent so many of his dayes under your government, and cannot without singular content and complacency call to minde, that he hath bin honoured to be called forth under your commission, to appear in the field against your enemies, in pursuance of which he did according to his mean ability serve you faithfully, and for length of time and number of expeditions, may (without ostentation be it spoken) compare with most if not any who were listed in your service; and accounts noe part of his dayes, next to those which have bin improved in the immediate service of God, so well spent as those which have bin employed in the service of his country and the government, remaining still devoted, in all that he hath and is, unto your service, without any selfish aimes. Yet being well assured that your noble and generous inclinations are not inferior, to his who accounted that day lost in which some or other were not benefited by him, nor to his, who was displeased with such as asked no kindness from him, he must confess that he hath some ambition that it may be manifested that he is not forgotten amongst those that have tasted of your beneficence, and humbly craves of the honoured court that you would please to grant to him a small number of acres of that land which hath bin recovered from the enemy, that so a little part of what he hath seen with his eyes and trod with his feet, in your service, may be committed into his hands, and that so he may the more comfortably share in the blessings of these peaceful days wherein men may beat their swords into plow shares, and your petitioner shall pray, &c.

JOSEPH SILL.

The magist^{rs} judg meet to grant the petitioner
two hundred acres of Land where he can find
it free; their brethren the Deputys hereto consenting.

EDWARD RAWSON, Sec'y.

The deputies consent not upon the consideration that this Court hath already granted a plantation of eight miles square in the nepmug countrey for the Accomodating such as were souldiers in the Late Warr with whom the petitioner may have his liberty to come in for a settlement if hee thinke good.

RICHARD SPRAGUE, pr order.

November y^e 19th 1685.

[Mass. Archives, Vol. 70, p. 148.]

NO. XXI.

MISCELLANEOUS COMPANIES.

LIEUT. WILLIAM HASEY AND HIS MEN.

WILLIAM HASEY, Boston, as early as 1652, lived at "Pulling Point;" afterwards a large land-owner at Rumney-Marsh; Artillery Company, 1652; freeman (Hazzey), 1665. By wife Sarah had William, born Sept. 15, 1652. Asa, born January 1, 1655. Joseph, May 29, 1657. Susanna, May 30, 1660. Martha, bapt. April 24, 1665.

Cornet William Hasey (or Haisy), May 27, 1674, was appointed Lieutenant of the "Three County Troop"* of which Edward Hutchinson was Captain and Jonathan Poole was made at same time Cornet; in Philip's war commanded a company in the summer of 1675. I find no connection between this family and William Hearsy of Hingham.*

William the son married Judith and had William, born December 21, 1679, and died June 7th, 1695, aged 43, leaving widow Judith, who died November 17, 1718, aged 68 years. Jacob, born August 26, 1684. Nathaniel, March 13, 1693. Judith, Abigail, Martha.

Credited under Lieut. William Hasey.

October 5 th 1675			
Benjamin Barrett	00 18 00	John Green	00 18 06
James Barrett	00 18 06	William Green, <i>Corpr.</i>	00 15 06
Samuel Weeden	00 18 06	Phineas Sprague	00 18 06
Daniel Greenland	00 18 06	John Green, <i>Corpr.</i>	01 02 03
Edward Tuttle	00 18 06	John Brown, <i>Corpr.</i>	01 02 03
Joseph Weeden	00 08 06	John Eaton	00 18 06
Thomas Wheeler	01 02 03	Henry Greene	00 18 06
Thomas Wilson	00 18 06	Samuel Richardson	00 18 06
John Greenland	00 13 00	Thomas Peirce	00 18 06
Thomas Brinknoll	00 18 06	John Gould	00 18 06
		Joseph Wright	00 18 06

* See N. ENGLAND HIST. AND GEN. REGISTER, vol. XXV. pp. 138-40, for an account of the Three County Troop and an engraving of its standard.

† Hen. Mellen Chamberlain has investigated this family's history, and finds no connection.

John Batchelor	00 18 06	Thomas Peirce	00 14 03
John Kendall	00 18 06	August 24 th 1676	
Thomas Hodgman	00 18 06	Thomas Wheeler	00 17 00
Josias Brown	00 18 06	John Barrett	00 14 03
Joseph Wing	00 18 06	Increas Wing	00 14 03
Increas Wing	00 18 06	John Richeson	00 17 00
John Brown	00 18 06	Thomas Hodgman	00 14 00
Richard Middleton	00 18 06	William Greene	00 17 00
Joseph Richardson	00 18 06	Phineas Sprague	00 17 00
William Hasey, <i>Lieut.</i>	02 06 06	Joseph Winn	00 14 03
Jonathan Poole, <i>Cornet.</i>	01 17 02	Thomas Brintnall	00 14 03
Isaac Brookes	00 18 06	William Hasey, <i>Lieut.</i>	01 15 09
July 24 th 1676		John Kendall	00 07 00
Nathaniel Richesson	00 14 03	September 23 ^d 1676	
Samuel Richeson	00 05 09	John Waite	00 14 00
Stephen Richeson	00 04 03	John Greene	00 14 00
Issac Brooks	01 01 06	Thomas Gery	00 14 03
John Eaton	00 14 03		

CAPT. NICHOLAS MANNING, OF IPSWICH, AND HIS MEN.

Capt. Nicholas Manning was the son of Richard Manning, of Dartmouth, co. Devon, England, and Anstiss (Calley), and was born there June 23d, 1644. He came to Salem (perhaps as mariner) and married Elizabeth, widow of Robert Gray, June 23d, 1663, and had children—Thomas, Nicholas, Margaret, John, born between 1664 and 1668, and all died young. His mother Anstiss, then a widow, came to Salem in 1679, with six children, of whom Thomas, born February 11, 1664 (the youngest brother of Nicholas), was the ancestor (gr. grandfather) of Elizabeth Clarke Manning, mother of Nathaniel Hawthorne, the eminent author. Nicholas served in the Mount Hope campaign, June, 1675, in Capt. Paige's Troop, was also in command of a company that marched out to Narraganset to recruit the army after the Great Swamp fight. His nephew Samuel inherited his Narraganset claim.

He was an adherent of the Andros government, and under that was appointed to a judgeship on the Kennebec River, and upon Andros's overthrow he was arrested and imprisoned as one of his followers.

Credited under Capt. Nicholas Manning.

February 29 th 1675-6		March 24 th 1675	
Richard Scott	04 10 00	Abiel Lamb	04 10 00
John Ballard	01 16 00	John Pickard	01 10 00
Anthony Needham, <i>Lieut.</i>	10 10 00	Samuel Smith	01 10 00
Stephen Henrick	01 10 00	Ezekiel Mihill	01 10 00
Thomas Raymond	01 10 00	Daniel Gobeley	01 10 00
Richard George	04 10 00	——— Beckett	01 10 00

April 24 th 1676		Nathaniel Kirkland	01 16 00
Samuel Varnam	02 00 00	Joseph Collins	01 10 00
John Rugles	05 16 00	Samuel Hartwell	01 10 00
June 24 th 1676		Robert Kinsman	01 10 00
John Wheeler	01 10 00	Nicholas Manning, <i>Capt.</i>	18 00 00
Resolved White	02 11 00	Jonathan Fairbanks	04 10 00
John Chapman	04 10 00	Alwin Breed	01 10 00
Edward Colcord	02 00 00	Caleb Kemball	01 10 00
Richard Norman	01 10 00	Elihu Wardall	01 10 00
Thomas Fuller	01 10 00	July 24 th 1676	
Ebenezer Prout	04 10 00	James Kidd	01 14 00
John Spauldin	02 00 00	Henry Farrar	02 10 00
William Rayment	01 16 00	August 24 th 1676	
Christopher Palmer	01 08 07	Benjamin White	04 10 00
Jonathan Moore	01 12 10	——— Palmer	02 08 00
John Lewis	01 16 00	Joseph Smith	02 00 00
Samuel Johnson	01 10 00		

CAPT. JONATHAN REMINGTON AND HIS MEN.

Jonathan Remington was the son of John of Newbury, 1637, and was born February 12, 1639; settled in Cambridge and married Martha Belcher, daughter of Andrew, July 13th, 1664, and had Martha, born February 18, 1666-7, d. April 23, 1669; Jonathan, born March 17, 1668-9, died April 16, 1669; Martha, born October 28, 1674, married Capt. Nicholas Bowes of Boston, January 19, 1718-19; Jonathan, born September 25, 1677; Samuel, born July 11, 1679, died June 3d, 1680; Anna, born January 30, 1680-81, married John Hill, June 24th, 1708; John and Mary, who died 1689 and 1690; Elizabeth, had a share in the estate; Sarah, born May 10, 1688, married John Biscoe of Watertown, February 1, 1710-11. Was prominent in public and especially in military affairs, and from 1682 till his death, kept the original "Blue Anchor Tavern," Cambridge. He held the position of Corporal in the local military company at Cambridge, and was in command of a company during the winter and spring of 1675-6. He was active in the later Indian war, in 1689 at Groton, and in 1691 at Wells and in the eastward parts. He died April 21, 1700, leaving his widow Martha, who died July 16, 1711, and through his son Jonathan left a notable and numerous posterity (see Paige's Cambridge, and REGISTER, VIII. 317-20). He served with the Cambridge men under Capt. Davenport in the Narraganset campaign, and was in the Swamp fight. In the winter following he was active in the command and supply of some of the garrisons in the interior towns, and was ordered March 11, 1675-6, to leave "the garrison" and march his soldiers home. His son Jonathan inherited his Narraganset claim.

Credited under Captain Jonathan Remington.

April 4 th 1676		Jeremiah Hood		04 10 10
John King	03 15 00	Francis Cooke		04 09 10
Aaron Jaques	03 06 00	William Smith		02 07 02
Joseph Gridley	03 17 00	John Parrum		03 06 00
William Bishop	03 06 00	Richard Higinbottom		03 06 00
Peter Hanchett	04 10 10	Richard Sawtell		03 06 00
William Haywood	04 10 10	Thomas Thorp		03 06 00
Caleb Jackson	04 10 00	June 24 th 1676		
Tobiah Redman	02 07 02	John Hollis		04 10 10
William Brown	01 16 00	Samuel Williams	} and his man	05 01 00
Robert Wills	04 17 06			
John Burrows	02 07 02			

LIEUT. NATHANIEL REYNOLDS AND HIS MEN.

Nathaniel Reynolds, born in England, was the son of Robert and Mary of Boston as early as 1632. He married Sarah Dwight, of Dedham, November 30, 1657. She died July 8, 1663, and he married Priscilla Brackett, of Boston, before February 21, 1666. Children of Sarah, first wife—Sarah, born July 26, 1659, married John Fosdick; Mary, born November 20, 1660, died aged 2 yrs. 2 ms.; Nathaniel, born March 3, 1662–3. By second wife—John, born August 4, 1668, died 1757, aged 88 years; Peter, born January 26, 1670; Philip, born September 15, 1672, died young; Joseph, born January 9, 1677, died January 16, 1759, aged 82 years 7 days; Hannah, born January 15, 1682, married Samuel Royall; Mary, born 1684? married Nathaniel Woodbury; Benjamin, born May 10, 1686 (in Bristol); Ruth, born Dec. 9, 1688, married Josiah Cary.

He was of the Artillery Company 1658, and admitted freeman 1665. He was in command of the garrison at Chelmsford in the fall and winter of 1675–6, and on February 25th the inhabitants petition the Court that he be allowed to remain, with his soldiers, for their protection. He removed to Bristol, R. I., after the war, and was prominent in the organization and development of that town.

Credited under Lieut. Nathl Reynolds.

April 24 th 1676		Thomas Stacy		03 15 04
Thomas Wiborn	00 18 00	David Couch		03 15 00
June 24 th 1676		Joseph Bicknell		00 12 00
Michael Bastow	00 18 00	Joseph Bateman		00 12 00
Humphrey Miller	02 18 00	William Twing		02 08 08
John Sergeant	00 12 00	James Burrell		02 03 00
Zibeon Leatherland	00 12 00	Robert Mason		00 12 04
Digory Sergeant	02 10 06	Ephraim Mosse		01 04 00
Joseph Saxton	00 12 00	July 24 th 1676		
Azbin Morris	00 12 00	Samuel Peacock		00 14 00
James Mecranell	01 04 00	August 24 th 1676		
Joseph Lamson	00 12 00	Nathl Reynolds, Lieut.		04 05 00

CAPT. JOHN HOLBROOKE, OF WEYMOUTH, AND HIS MEN.

Capt. John Holbrooke was the son of Thomas, and the following list from the N. ENGLAND HIST. AND GEN. REGISTER, Vol. XXV. p. 14, serves to fix the date of the family's arrival at Weymouth, Mass.

Weymouth [England] y^e 20th of March 1635[-6]

Bound for New England

- [No] 66 Thomas Holbrooke of Broudway aged 34: yeare
 67 Jane Holbrooke his wife aged 34 Yeare
 68 John Holbrooke his sonne aged 11 yeare
 69 Thomas Holbrooke his sonne aged 10 yeare
 70 Anne Holbrooke his daught^r aged 5 yeare
 71 Elizabeth Holbrooke his daught^r aged 1 yeare.

All the data we have concerning Capt. John show the above age to have been some six years less than that given upon his gravestone, and to have been incompatible with many points in his history. He was admitted freeman 1640;* representative six years between 1651-74. He is said to have had three wives—first, Sarah, who died January 4th, 1644; second, Elizabeth Stream, who died June 25th, 1688, aged 64 years; and third, widow Mary Loring, who survived him. His children (most if not all born of his second wife) were—John, married Abigail Pierce, daughter of Capt. Michael; a daughter, married Simon Whitmarsh; Abiezer; Hannah, married Ephraim Pierce, son of Capt. Michael; Grace, married Joseph Nash of Boston; Samuel; Lois and Eunice, twins; Eunice, married Benjamin Ludden; Experience, married Joseph Edson; Ichabod, married Sarah Turner.

Capt. Holbrooke was a very enterprising man of business, and his real estate operations were quite extensive for his day. He was also prominent in military affairs, was Lieutenant of the local company, and, August 8th, 1664, was chosen to go upon some service as Lieutenant in the company of Capt. Hudson, but his wife and family being sick at the time, Ensign John Thurston, of Hingham, was appointed in his stead. In the time of Philip's war he was in command of the local company, and in the spring of 1676 was appointed to command one of the companies raised and sent out to suppress the "Insolencies" of the Indians and to "range the woods towards Hassanamesit." The following papers pertain to that service. Capt. Holbrooke died November 23, 1699, leaving a large estate to his numerous heirs.

Concord y^e 29th of April 1676

Honrd Sirs,

According to orders I have obtained here to Concord & this Day have mustered my Company, And have here send the list of those that not ap-

* Upon consultation with Mr. Gilbert Nash, of Weymouth, Mass., I think that the freeman and the husband of Sarah who died 1644, may have been John, sometime of Dorchester, perhaps an uncle of Capt. John.

pear according to order likewise the names of them y^t are here now of my Company, which are but very Small which is a great Discouragement to me, therefore my humble request is that I may have my Company made up according to my order of 80 men or else y^t I may be Dismissed which I have mention to yo^r Honno^{rs} alreadye Iff I should not have a full Company. Some nessarys I want for the Company I have neither Drume nor Collors, which I Desire that If you thinke it fitt to send me Either houe-boye or a Drumpiter which is very requisitt, having nothing Else att present & remaine
Your Honn^{ors} Most humble Servant

JOHN HOLBROOK.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 239.

The following paper is doubtless the list referred to :

These are to Certifie y^e Hon^d Major Generall Denison or whome it may Conserne Being ordered to take 82 men under my Command together with 28 horses & 14 men to tend them, viz. being order by Major Clarke

39 men from Boston 4 horses 2 men
9 men from Roxbury 4 horses 2 men
9 men from Dorchester 4 horses 2 men
6 men from Dedham 4 horses 2 men
7 men from Brantry 4 horses 2 men
6 men from Weymouth 4 horses 2 men
6 men from Hingham 4 horses 2 men

Defects from Boston for non-appearance Jn^o Pemerton, Jn^o Porter & Richard Knight From Dorchester non-appearance, Consider Atherton, Henry Wedarton [Withington], Ebezar Clape. From Waymouth, Zachary Gorney. From Hingham, Jn^o Feres & Arthur Sherman.

p me JOHN HOLBROOKE Capⁿ.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 69, p. 12.

Credited under Capt. John Holbrooke.

June 24 th 1676		Thomas William	01 10 00
Daniel Adams	01 16 00	Isaac How	01 01 04
Samuel Adams	01 04 00	Samuel Spencer	01 01 04
Denis Sihy	02 10 00	Caleb Rey	01 14 02
August 24 th 1676		John Whitney	* 00 18 00
Samuel Davis	02 00 00	John Ellenworth	01 11 08
Joseph Lyon	01 11 03	September 23 ^d 1676	
Moses Knapp	03 10 00	Joseph Tucker	03 05 00
Roger Prosser	00 13 08	Thomas Hoppen	01 12 06
Paul Gilford	02 19 00	James Hadlock	02 08 00
Daniel Adams	04 12 01	Thomas Bull	04 07 06
Joseph Walters	04 10 00	John Craft	02 14 10
John Scott	00 14 06	Benjamin Merifield	03 01 08
John Plum	01 10 00	Joshuah Child	01 10 00
John Harker	03 12 00	Richard Puffer	02 01 00
John Randall	01 11 08	John Parker	03 01 08
Samuel Wales	01 12 06	Benjamin Phillips	01 10 10
James Sinkler	03 02 06	William Deane	01 15 08
Jeremiah Conah	03 02 06	Daniel Harris	01 11 08
Benjamin Molton	03 02 06	William Field	03 00 00
Benjamin Bates	05 15 10	Thomas Betell	04 02 00
James Atkins	01 15 00	John Holbrooke, Capt.	16 01 03
Samuel Blake	03 10 08		

CAPT. JOHN WHIPPLE, OF IPSWICH, AND HIS MEN.

The Whipple family in this country undoubtedly descended from Matthew Whipple of Bocking; co. Essex, England, a clothier. Will of December 19th, 1616, probated January 28th, 1618; mentions son Matthew, son John, daughters Jane, Elizabeth, Mary, Anne, Johane, Amye; "my sister, wife of Richard Rathbone; Hercules Stephens, grandchildren Hercules and Margaret Arthur and Henry and Anne Coldham."

The two brothers Matthew and John, who were settled at Ipswich some time before 1638, were probably the sons mentioned above. They settled at the "Hamlet," now the town of Hamilton. John was a deacon or ruling elder of the First Church. He was freeman 1640, and representative for eight years between that and 1653. By first wife he had children—Mary, JOHN, Susanna, Sarah, and probably others.

Capt. John, son of "Elder" John, as above, born in Essex, England, about 1626, married first, Martha Reyner, daughter of Humphrey, who died February 24, 1679; married second, Elizabeth, June 28th, 1680. By first wife had children—John, born July 15, 1657; Matthew, born 1658; Joseph, born June 8, 1666; Susan, Sarah and Anna. He was appointed Cornet of the Ipswich Troop before 1675, and Captain in 1683 in place of Capt. John Appleton. He was Lieutenant in Capt. Paige's Troop at Mount Hope, June, 1675, and was appointed Captain of a troop raised for service under Major Savage in March, 1676; was with the army in the unsuccessful manœuvring of that campaign. In the letter of the Council to Major Savage, dated April 1st, 1676 (See Article No. IV. page 56), is found the passage, "Touching that Rebuke of God upon Cap^t Whiple and y^e poore people at Springfield it is a matter of great shame and humbling to us." This was in answer to one from Major Savage of March 28th, dated at Hadley, in which he says that they have had advice from Springfield that eight Indians assaulted sixteen or eighteen men, besides women and children, as they were going to meeting from a place called Long Meadow, "and killed a man and a maid, wounded two men, and carried away captive two women and two children." Major Savage says further, that being apprised of that affair and the way the Indians went, he sent out sixteen men in pursuit, who came up with the Indians, who, as soon as they found the English in close pursuit, killed the two children, and striking the women with their hatchets upon the head, left them for dead and fled. The horsemen brought back the four bodies, the women being yet alive, one recovered; and this disaster was a severe reproach to the guard, who in a popular rhyme of the day are remembered thus:

"Seven Indians, and one without a gun,
Caused Capt. Nixon and forty men to run."

I am inclined to think that by the Council, Capt. Whipple, as commander of the troop, and perhaps at that time with them, was held responsible for the disaster. I know nothing of Capt. Nixon.

Credited under Capt. John Whipple of Ipswich.

June 24 th 1676			
John Dodge	03 08 06	Christopher Palmer	04 02 04
Marke Hascall	03 08 06	Samuel Chapman	03 07 02
William Smith	03 07 00	July 24 th 1676	
Richard Child	03 08 06	Joseph Taylor	03 08 06
Thomas Leaver	03 08 06	James Hobbs	03 10 00
Samuel Smith	03 08 06	Timothy Bread	03 08 06
Daniel Wycome, <i>Qr. Mr.</i>	05 02 09	William Dellow	03 08 06
Joseph Cask	03 08 06	Henry Kenny	03 08 06
John Rayment	03 00 00	James Lowden	00 10 00
Thadeus Berry	03 08 06	Joseph Eaton	03 08 06
Moses Cleaveland	03 08 06	August 24 th 1676	
John Sawin	03 08 06	Thomas Brintnall	03 08 06
John Stone	03 08 06	Thomas Hodgman	00 17 00
Samuel Stearnes	03 08 06	John Whipple, <i>Capt.</i>	13 14 03
John Wait	03 10 00	Edward Neland	03 08 06
Samuel Cooper	02 01 00	Samuel Giddings	09 16 05
James Tenney	02 01 00	Thomas Andrews	03 06 08
Samuel Ladd	04 02 00	Ephraim Fellows	03 19 00
		September 23 ^d 1676	
		John Browne	04 02 00

CAPT. JOHN JACOB, OF HINGHAM, AND HIS MEN.

Capt. John Jacob was the son of Nicholas, who came from Old Hingham, England, to Hingham, Mass., in 1633, with wife Mary and children John and Elizabeth; and there had Josiah, Joseph b. May 10, 1646, and four daughters. Nicholas was representative in 1648 and 1649, and died June 5th, 1657.

Capt. John, born in England, married Margery Eames, October 20, 1653, and had children—John, born October 20, 1654, who, April 19, 1676, was killed by the Indians near his father's house, in what is now South Hingham; Mary, born March 21, 1656; Sarah, born Sept. 29, 1657; Benjamin, April 2, 1659. First wife died April 7, 1659, and he married second, October 3, 1661, Mary Russell, daughter of George, and had Jael, born September 7, 1762; David, born June 20, 1664; Elizabeth, born April 11, 1666; Peter, born February 12, 1668; Hannah, born December 26, 1669; Samuel, born November 30, 1671; Deborah, born May 15, 1674, died soon; Deborah, 2d, born August 8, 1677; John, 2d,

born July 31, 1679; Lydia, born April 18, 1681; Abigail, born Nov. 13, 1683. His will, probated Dec. 31, 1693, names his twelve living children, four sons and eight daughters. He was very active and influential. His house was fortified as a garrison by order of the General Court, Feb. 25, 1676. He was in command of a foot-company of about eighty men at Medfield, when, on Feb. 21, 1676-7, the town was attacked by a large body of Indians and partially destroyed. There were besides this company of Capt. Jacob a detachment of twenty troopers under command of Lieut. Edward Oakes (See No. III. p. 42) and the "train-band" of the town, about one hundred in number. These were quartered about the town in the various houses, and there were no scouts about the town to keep watch and ward, and the enemy crept in and about the houses, and just before day-light, at a given signal, fired the detached houses, near which they had placed ambuscades, and when the people and the soldiers quartered there rushed out, they were shot down. The main guard, stationed near the meeting-house, had a cannon which they fired several times, which alarmed the inhabitants and probably frightened the enemy, who fled across the river towards Sherburne, burning the bridge behind them, thus cutting off the slow and clumsy pursuit of the scattered troops. The fullest account of this affair is given by Major Daniel Gookin in his "History of the Christian Indians." He says the Indians burnt about forty houses, near half the town, and killed and wounded about twenty people. Among the killed was Lieut. Henry Adams, the military officer of the town, of whom and the Medfield garrison a full account is to be given in the proper place. After the lieutenant's death, his widow Elizabeth had been taken to the house of the minister, the Rev. Mr. Wilson, near the meeting-house, and here a very sad and strange accident occurred; for Mrs. Adams, who had retired to the chamber, and was lying upon a bed just over the room below, in which Capt. Jacob and some of the officers and guards were gathered, was killed by the accidental discharge of a gun in the hand of Capt. Jacob, just as he was passing out of the house to his quarters, and having his gun "half-bent," i.e. at half-cock, the muzzle pointing upward, the bullet piercing through "the floor and mat through and through the body of the lieutenant's widow." He was with Capt. Johnson in the Narraganset campaign, and on the Captain's death took command of the company.* He was afterwards engaged during the winter with Capt. Wadsworth in guarding the frontiers from Milton to the Plymouth Colony bounds, Weymouth, Hingham and Hull being assigned in particular to Capt. Jacob. John, 2d, inherited his Narraganset claim.

* It is probable that in the "Fort Fight" Lieut. Henry Bowen, if present, took the command after the Captain fell, as was proper, but Capt. Jacob was appointed to fill the place afterward, as were others in the other companies.

Credited under Capt. John Jacob, of Hingham.*

March 24 th 1675-6	John Sibly	02 17 04
Nathaniel Beales 01 09 06	July 24 th 1676	
April 24 th 1675	John Taylor	00 16 09
William Williams 00 05 00	Ebenezer Inglesby	00 10 02
James Taylor 01 04 00	William Bodkin	00 10 02
June 24 th 1676	August 24 th 1676	
Thomas Davis 00 09 05	Gilbert Endicott	00 10 02
William Field 00 12 00	Joseph Swady	00 10 02
Benjamin Bignall 00 09 02	Elisha Foster	00 10 02
John Battle 00 12 00	Anthony Hancock	00 10 02
Jeremiah Fisher 00 12 00	Edward Blancher	00 10 02
Benjamin Wight 00 12 00	John Howen	00 10 03
Ephraim Wilson 00 12 00	John Plumb	00 10 02
John Thurston 00 12 00	Samuel Paule	00 15 03
Nathaniel Farrington 00 12 00	David Fawkner	00 10 02
Edward Segwell 00 12 00	John Wells, Jr.	00 10 02
John Gray 00 12 00	Henry Bowen	00 15 00
John Cuckow 00 04 02	John Jacobs	09 17 00
John Herring 00 05 00	William Paine	00 10 02
John Richardson 03 07 08	Thomas Hoppin	02 18 02
Alexander Mecanny 04 16 00	September 23 ^d 1676	
John Nowell 00 09 02	Isaac Jones	00 10 02
Humphrey Richards 00 12 00		

* See also credits of March and April, 1676, under Capt. Johnson.

CAPT. JOHN CUTLER AND HIS MEN.

Capt. John Cutter was the son of Robert (of Charlestown in 1637, freeman 1638) and Rebecca his wife. John was probably born in England about 1628. He married first, Anna Woodmansey, daughter of Robert and Anna. She died August 20, 1683, in her 57th year, and he married second, Mehitable Hilton, October 29, 1684. She died September 29, 1711, having survived the captain, who died September 12th, 1694, in his 66th year. His children, all by his first wife, were—John; Timothy; Sarah, born October 20, 1655, married Eleazer Phillips 1695-6; Samuel, born March 6, 1658; Hannah, married Daniel Willard, 1683; Robert, born November 15, 1663, died in Barbadoes August 30, 1683; Rebecca, born November 5, 1666, married Josiah Bennett; Mary, born November 20, 1669, died 1703.

Capt. Cutler was engaged during the war, on various occasions, in conducting supply trains to the garrisons, and at the time of Capt. Wadsworth's destruction at Sudbury, April 21, 1676, narrowly escaped being cut off with his company returning from Marlborough. He was in command of a company under Capt. Henchman the next month at Hassanamesit.

Credited under Capt. John Cutler.

June 24 1676			
Zachariah Feres	00 09 04	Josiah Smith	00 12 10
William Green	00 12 00	James Smith	00 18 08
John Wilson	00 14 00	John Smith	00 03 04
Joseph Pratt	00 15 04	William Clough	00 14 00
Daniel Edmunds	02 06 08	Nathaniel Frothingham	00 02 06
John Watson	00 14 00	John Call (2 credits)	00 19 00
Josiah Wood	01 07 04	Munning Sawin	00 12 00
John Dows	00 14 00	Eleazer Beares	00 12 00
William Whiting	01 07 04	Joseph Parker	00 08 00
Samuel Blancher	00 12 10	John Barrett	00 06 06
Timothy Philips	01 14 10	July 24 1676	
Giles Fifield	00 04 00	John Begello	00 09 00
John Fosdicke	00 12 10	Isaac Fowl	00 12 00
Samuel Peirce	00 09 04	John Dickson	01 01 04
Samuel Cutler	01 04 10	Robert Robin	00 09 04
Joshuah als. Josiah Benjamin	00 12 00	Stephen Coolidge	00 02 06
Daniel Baldwin	00 03 04	John Edes	00 09 08
John Cutler, <i>Leut.</i>	03 15 00	Phillip Russell	02 06 00
Nathaniel Rand	01 03 04	Daniel Warren	00 09 08
Matthew Griffin	00 15 04	John Jones	00 09 04
Samuel Frothingham	00 16 02	Nathaniel Kittle	00 11 00
Nathaniel Douse	01 07 04	Samuel Gibson	00 03 04
Thomas Rand	01 04 10	Thomas Micheson	01 04 10
George Polly	00 09 04	Henry Philips	01 04 00
Edward Wilson	00 09 00	Thomas White	00 14 00
		William Browne	00 15 04
		Christopher Goodwin	00 16 02

Zeckeriah Johnson	00 18 10	John Dowgin	00 09 04
Isaac Johnson	00 05 02	John Whitney	00 02 06
Joseph Frost	00 10 00	Nathaniel Fisk	00 02 06
Samuel Hayward	00 09 04	Ephraim Phillips	00 09 04
John Martin	00 09 04	William Rider	00 10 02
Robert Carter	00 09 04	Daniel Willard	00 14 06
James Nichols	00 08 06	Christopher Muschin	00 09 04
John Winslade	00 09 04	Samuel Cooper	00 12 00
William Laroby	00 09 04	William Price	00 09 04
Jonathan Stimpson	00 02 06	September 23 ^d 1676	
George Woodward	00 07 08	Aaron Cleaveland	00 02 06
Thomas Whitney	00 02 06	Thomas Hammond	00 10 02
William Goddard	00 09 04	John Kemball	00 02 06
Samuel Prentice	00 09 04	Jehn Stedman	00 03 09
Joshuah Edmands	00 06 10	David Alexander	00 10 02
August 24 th 1676		Alexander Wait	00 09 04
Edward Smith	00 06 10	John Melvin	00 10 02
John Lee	00 02 06	Thomas Fiske	00 10 02
Edward Goff	01 13 04	Samuel Peirce	00 12 00
Hugh Taylor	00 18 00	John Brookes	00 15 06
Isaac Beech	00 09 04	John Walker	00 09 04
David Mead	00 09 04	Jonathan Smith	00 09 04

NO. XXII.

MAJOR RICHARD WALDERNE AND HIS MEN.

THE Walderne* family, to which the subject of this article, Richard Walderne, belonged, is of ancient lineage, as seen in the Pedigree, found by H. G. Somerby in England, and published by him in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. viii. p. 78, showing descent from Edward Walderne and Joan his wife, of Alcester, in Warwickshire, through George Walderne and Joan Shallarde, married July 8, 1576, who had William, baptized July 25, 1577, married Catherine Raven at Alcester, November 26, 1600, and had nine sons and two daughters. The seventh son was Richard, baptized January 6, 1615.

This Richard¹ Walderne came to America, it is said, in 1635, "to See the Country. He stayed about two Years and returned to England and there Married a Gentlewoman of a very good family (whose parents were very unwilling She Should come away) her names are not remembered nor of w^t place."†

The matter above quoted is from the fragment of a letter from James Jeffrey to Councillor Richard³ Waldron, the Major's grandson.

Major Walderne came to America with his young wife about 1637; after whose death he married Anne Scammon, sister of Richard. His children were—Paul,² who died in Algiers about 1669 (probably on board one of his father's vessels). Timothy,² who died while a student in Harvard College. Richard,² born 1650. Anna,² married Rev. Joseph Gerrish. Elnathan,² born July 6, 1659, in Boston; died Dec. 10, 1659. Esther,² born Dec. 1, 1660, in Boston; married (1) Henry Elkins, (2) Abraham Lee, June 21, 1686, (3) Richard Jose, and (4) ———. She died in the Isle of Jersey. Mary,² born Sept. 14, 1663, in Boston, died young. Eleazer,² born May 1, 1665. Elizabeth,² born Oct. 8, 1666;

* It is thought best, in this present number, to adopt the spelling of the Major's own signature, which agrees with his English ancestors and was used by his contemporaries. His son Richard changed it in his own signature, and wrote of his father as Waldron, and all historians since have referred to the family by that name.

† Rev. A. H. Quint, D.D., the eminent antiquarian, has furnished an account of the Waldron (Walderne) family in America, and that account is here followed. See N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, Vol. ix. p. 55, and Historical Memoranda in *Dover Enquirer*, Nos. 104 to 111, April 19 to June 7, 1853; and Nos. 175 to 178, Aug. 6 to Aug. 22, 1857.

married John Gerrish, of Dover. Maria,² born July 17, 1668; died about the age of fourteen.

Richard,² the son of Major Walderne, changed the surname to Waldron, and the family has since been known as Waldron. He married (1) Hannah Cutt, Feb. 16, 1681, who died Feb. 14, 1682, at the birth of her first child; (2) Eleanor Vaughan, who died September, 1727. He died Nov. 3, 1730. His children were—Richard,³ born 1682 (by his first wife), who died aged about eleven months. Richard³ (2d), born Feb. 21, 1693-4; Margaret,³ born Nov. 16, 1695; William,³ born 1697; Annie,³ born 1699; Abigail,³ born 1702; Eleanor,³ born 1704.

It is supposed that Major Walderne was a man of some property when he came to this country, as he purchased a large tract of land at Coheco (Dover, N. H.), where he settled about 1640, erected saw-mills, established his business, and made his home. He was a man of remarkable enterprise and ability, and by wise investment and diligent use of his opportunities acquired a large property for his times. He established a truck-house for the accommodation of the Indians, and his own gain, at Pennacook, in 1668, and it was there that an Englishman, Thomas Dickinson, was killed by an Indian who was drunk, and whom the Indians immediately punished with death. An investigation ensued, and Major Walderne was accused of selling or furnishing liquors at his truck-house, which made the Indian drunk, contrary to the laws and the special terms of the treaty. The papers in this case are preserved in the Mass. Archives, Vol. 30, pp. 154-161. The liquors were said to be sold by the hand of Paul Walderne, son of the Major, and Peter Coffin. During the investigation, the Major was suspended from his office by his brother magistrates, but upon his own oath as to his entire innocence of complicity, either direct or indirect, in the affair, and upon the evidence, he was acquitted as well as his son, and was restored to his office and power, while Peter Coffin was convicted and fined fifty pounds. He was much in public life, and exerted a wide influence in various ways. He was representative to the General Court for thirteen years, and was Speaker of the House for seven years; was appointed to be a magistrate for the North Circuit of old Norfolk County, consisting of Portsmouth and Dover, and also of the County of York.

Major Walderne seems to have been in full sympathy with the strictest puritans of Massachusetts Colony, and a sturdy champion of colonial rights and ecclesiastical authority, if we regard his severe treatment of the Quakers within his jurisdiction, as zeal for the church. His wide influence among the people is seen to have been due to general popularity, by his large vote at elections in the times when people dared to put their will, and meant to put their conscience into their votes. In his extensive trade with the Indians and in constant communication with them, he seems to have kept their

confidence, and to have had very little trouble with them in the thirty-five years that he had lived near them. There had been provocations doubtless on the part of the English as well as the Indians, and the Major, in common with other magistrates, was obstinate and stupidly severe in the administration of English law upon a wild, heathen people, who had no more idea of its meaning than of Sanskrit. The Indians knew the meaning of gratitude as well as vengeance; they could bide their time and dissemble submission, but they did not forget. Dover was a frontier town, and, several years before the war, houses had been fortified and a stockade set up about the meeting-house to prevent a surprise. Large numbers of Indians were coming and going among the settlers, were received and entertained in their houses, were well acquainted with the habits and peculiarities of their home-life and ways of business and worship, and it is probable that there was no other place in the Colony where the relations of settlers and Indians were more free and kindly than in this settlement at Dover. At the same time, here as elsewhere, the English regarded the Indians with ill-concealed contempt as inferior beings, and not really worth conciliating in permanent friendship, but to be tolerated till such time as they could be conveniently driven away.

It is probable that in military matters, as in all others, the direction had been in the hands of Major Walderne. The first record I have found relating to this is the following commission from the General Court, Oct. 7, 1674 :

Capt. Richard Walderne having had the command of the militia in Yorkshire, by authority from this Court, for the last two yeares past, & hath this summer draune forth the regiment of foote & troope of horse there, exercised them in military discipline, this Court doth heereby appoint him, the said Richard Walderne, to be the sarjant major of the forces in Yorkshire, and doe order, that he have commission as other major's have for authorizing him to that service.

Col. Rec. Vol. v. p. 22.

When the alarm of the attack upon Swansea reached the people, measures were at once taken to secure these frontier towns, and the colonial authorities took steps to assist the more exposed and weaker settlements. The following letter will show the Council alert also to secure active coöperation of forces all along the lines :

ffor Maj^r Rich^d Waldern.

Having Acquainted the Council what I advised you the fifteenth Inst. I am commanded by them to order you forthwith wth 50 or 60 souldiers under your owne or Mr. Plaisteds or some other sufficient conduct you march to Pennicooke supposed to be y^e great Randevous of y^e enemy, where you may expect to meet Capt. Mosely, who is ordered thither and hath sufficient commission, to pursue kill & destroy them w^{ch} also you must attend as y^r work unless such as shall willingly deliver up their armes & themselves or sufficient hostages to secure their peaceable behaviour you

had need to take along with you a Chirurgion & make all possible expedition. A great part of our forces are at present at Hadley.

DANIEL DENISON, Maj^r Gen^l.

Boston, August 17, 1675.

By order of y^e Council.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 67, p. 241.

An account of the expedition referred to in the letter, has been given in a former chapter relating to Capt. Mosely. The Pennacooks and their allied families took no part in the war, but they did not and perhaps could not prevent the hostile or "strange" Indians from passing from tribe to tribe, and occasionally small war parties going back and forth from the East to the West, found entertainment in these tribes, but were not joined by them in their hostile movements, though some of their young men may have been enticed to join the hostiles on occasions.

In the beginning, the Indians, bent mostly upon plunder, seem to have broken up into small parties, which could easily find out and strike exposed points here and there, and when necessary for some large enterprise, could swiftly concentrate their forces at any given time and place.

The first depredations of these Indians upon these northeastern frontiers began in September, 1675, at Oyster River (now Durham, N. H.); they burnt two houses of "the Cheslies," killed two men in a canoe upon the river, captured an old Irishman and a young man, both of whom escaped in a few weeks by the help of a friendly Indian. Three Indians, viz., John Sampson, Cromwel and John Linde, waylaid Goodman Robinson and his son, of Exeter, on their way to Hampton, and killed the father, the young man escaping to Hampton. These same Indians captured Charles Randlet, of Exeter, who soon after escaped. The house of Richard Tozer at Salmon Falls, wherein were fifteen women and children, was attacked by two Indians, "Andrew" and "Hope-Hood," but was valiantly defended by a young woman, who held fast the door till all the others escaped, and till it was hewn in pieces by the Indians, who then entering struck her down, leaving her for dead, while they followed the others to the next house, which, being better fortified, the Indians did not attack. Two children were captured who were of this company, and could not keep up with the others; one of three years was killed, the other of seven was carried into captivity, but afterwards returned by them. The brave girl who defended the house revived after the Indians left her, and escaped to her friends and was restored to perfect health; and it is to be regretted that Mr. Hubbard, who relates this, did not record the name of the heroine, as he doubtless could have easily done. Small parties prowled in the woods in every direction, burning and shooting. Six more houses were burned at Oyster River, and William Roberts and his

son-in-law were killed. Under these provocations the English were goaded almost to desperation, and yet, if they drew out in force to pursue, the Indians easily escaped to the woods and could not be overtaken. Several parties of volunteers went out from the garrisons in pursuit, but without avail, except that one party discovered five Indians, three gathering corn in a field, while two were building a fire to roast it. Two of the English crept up to these latter, and suddenly rushing to close quarters killed them both, knocking them on the head with the butts of their muskets. The rest escaped.

Capt. John Wincoll, who lived at Berwick, seems to have been in active service under Major Walderne, and was absent upon some service when his house and barn, with several of his neighbors' buildings, were burned by the Indians. It is possible that he was with Major Walderne at the eastward when this took place. The following letter takes us further to the eastward, and gives a glimpse of what was going on there while towns upon the Connecticut were battling for life with the allies of Philip.

Douer 25th September 1675

Much Honrd

My Absence from home (being this Week at Eastw^d) hath Ocation'd yo^r hearing nothing from mee Soe long but being Just now returned this evening thought it my Duty wth all expedition to giue Acc^{tt} of the state of y^e Place Since I sent away Cap^t Daus wth about 50 men at y^e enemies ffirst Assault of those places (haueing further Information of their killing & Burning) According to yo^r direction raised a p^{ty} of Souldiers out of Douer and Portsmoth & wth an Addition of Some from Kittery I did my selfe Advance eastw^d for y^e further Succour of those places but before I came Soe ffar as Sawco Capt Daus being gone to Falmth where the first damage was done by the enemy I had Advice of y^e enemies Marching Westward ffalling upon Scarbrough & Sawco killing and burning on Saturday and Sabbath day last at Scarbrough they killed an old man & Woman & burnt their house & at M^r Foxwells two young men were killed being att y^e barn about y^r Cattle The enemy yⁿ Advanced tow^{ds} Sawco riu^{er} w^{ch} is nott aboue 4 miles distant from y^t Part of Scarbrough & there fell to burning of houses y^e People before haueing Intelligence ffrom an Indian called Scossaway of y^e time wⁿ they Would come deserted their houses most of y^m repairing to Maj^r Pendletons but M^r Bonighten & some other ffamilies to Maj^r Phillips on Saturday Morning y^e Indians rifled and burnt Seuerall houses on y^e north Side y^e riu^{er} & among w^{ch} M^r Bonightens was one he being the night before fled to Maj^r Phillips while said houses were burning a pty of y^m Judged about 36 Ind^{ns} came ouer y^e riu^{er} in english canooes & wⁿ come Ashore cutt holes in y^m and turnd y^m Adrift but all this time finding noe men they went to Maj^r Phillips Saw mill & 1st Set it goeing then on fire & burnt it & afterwards did y^e like to his corn mill it being Judged to be their design thereby to draw y^m out of y^e house, and soe to Surprise both y^m & itt but Maj^r Phillips being fforwarned of their coming made Some Small defense about his house haueing wth him of his own ffamilies & neighbours to y^e number of 15 men besides women & Children in

all about 50 the bushes being thick within shott of his house could not att first See an Indⁿ but one of y^e men Perceineing a Stirring Among y^e feernes Maj^r Phillips looked out of his Chamber Window y^t Way & ffrom y^{nec} was Imediately shott att and slightly Wounded in y^e Should^r (2 more were alsoe Wounded Afterwar^d y^t being all the harm done there) Afterw^{ds} y^e Shott came thick w^{ch} was Accordingly Answered ffrom within Butt noe Indians as yet appeared but only Creeping deckt with feernes and boughs till some time after they gott a p^r of old truck wheels and fitt^d y^m up wth boards and Slabs ffor a barricadoe to Safe guard y^e Driuers thereby Endeavouring to burn y^e house haueing prepared combustibile matter as birch rinds pitchwood Turpentine and powd^r ffor y^t end but they in y^e house p^{ee}ineing their Intention Plyed their shott against itt and ffound Afterw^{ds} their shott went through A little before they Came at y^e house there was a little wett ground into w^{ch} y^e Wheels Sunk and y^t obstructed their driueing itt fforw^d they Endeavouring to gett it out of y^e dirt again by turning a little on one Side thereby layeing y^mselues open to y^m in y^e house w^{ch} opportunity they improued & made y^m quitt their work and fly but Continued fireing at y^e house all night till Sabbath day morning about 9 a clock & then they saw y^e Indians at a distance March away they Judged between 20 & 30 & some of y^m wth 2 guns but before they went they set fire on a little out house & in itt burnt severall hogs Since w^{ch} Maj^r Phillips is removed down to Winter harbour to Maj^r Pendletons where I found him—After this y^e Same or another Party of Indians went to Scarbrough to a Place called Dunstan where L^t Alger being abroad wth 6 men more well arm^d being about their Ocations mett 14 Ind^{ns} compleat in Armes in 2 ranks He retreating a little toward^s his house y^e Ind^{ns} Advanced and ffollowed whereupon he faced y^m y^e 1st rank of y^e Ind^{ns} fired & orderly fell in y^e rear of y^e others Lt Alger wth his 6 men fired & Primed they Struck some of y^m whereupon they Imediately fled they being at a Considerable Distance none of y^m Rec^d any harm but Notwthstanding all this neither my Selfe nor Cap^t Davis nor any pty I sent out tho I had yⁿ in those pts 120 Souldiers could euer see an Ind^{an} Therefore Considering y^e Weaknesse I left our pts in nearer homew^d by takeing soe many thence & the little hopes wee had of meeting wth y^e enemy who As soon as euer they discovered a pty of Souldiers in one place fled to another & by Reason of y^e Vast Inconueniences Attending a March in y^t Country ocationed by many riuers Marshes &c. I thought it most prudente to Contract y^e people into as small a Comasse as may be in those towns & there make some fortifications to defend y^mselues haueing left about 60 Souldiers in garrison at Sawco Scarbrough and Falmth ffor y^e defence of those places & ffor their help in gathering their corn & Secureing their prouitions bringing y^e Remaining forces back wth mee to their severall towns again haueing likewise ordered Wells York & Kittery to garrison y^mselues for y^r own defence y^e Distractions of those places by Reason of psons being fforced to fforseake y^r Plantations & leaue their Corn & Cattle to y^e enemy doth portend Inevitable want &c to ensue unlesse god by his extraordinary prouidence doe preuent their case being Considered beg yo^r Thoughts & direction aboutt it w^{ch} wⁿ Rec^d shall be readily Attended by

Hou^{sd} s^r yo^r Humble Seru^{tt}

RICHARD WALDERNE

The above letter of Major Walderne sufficiently explains the situation of affairs at the Eastward. The entire population withdrew into their fortified houses, which were garrisoned as well as possible with the inhabitants of the towns, Major Walderne holding a small reserve force at Portsmouth and Dover to assist whenever one settlement was more threatened than another. The great tribes which confronted the eastward settlements and had the controlling influence in the war in these parts were, the Ammoscoggins, who lived upon what is now called the Androscoggin River; the Pequakets, whose chief rendezvous was at the head waters of the Saco in the present town of Fryeburg; the Ossipees, near the lake of that name; the Pennacooks, who held a large tract of country in the vicinity of Concord, N. H. These larger had gathered the remnants of several once powerful tribes which had held the lands along the coast from Kennebec to the Piscataqua, but which had been almost annihilated by the internal wars which raged after the overthrow of the great "Bashaba," who had lived on the Penobscot and had held all these eastern tribes in subjection. In the struggle for supremacy which succeeded, a great part of the fighting men in all the tribes were destroyed. This was at its height when Sir Richard Hawkins visited the coast in 1615. A great plague followed this war, which nearly depopulated the whole region along the shores before the Pilgrims came to Plymouth in 1620. The Ammoscoggins and Pequakets were hostile to the English, and it was their depredations, assisted by the restless tribes on the Kennebec and beyond, that so troubled this eastern frontier in the war of 1675-7.

The Pennacooks had always been peaceful towards the English since the first settlement. Passaconaway was their chief at the earliest mention we have of them, and was still alive and active for the welfare of his tribe in 1663, though at great age, for it was probably about this time that Major Gookin saw him (as he writes in 1677) "alive at Pawtucket when he was about a hundred and twenty years old." He seems to have been a chief of remarkable ability and wisdom, and had some sort of dominion over many tribes, and there is some evidence that he bore the sway of a "Bashaba," or Great Sagamore. He was reputed by the Indians to be a great "Powow" and to possess supernatural powers, and was held to be a "sorcerer" by the English, and doubtless had some arts of the juggler by which he gained this renown.

He had several sons and daughters, one of whom married Winnepurkitt, sachem of Saugus, whom the English called George Rumneymarsh, upon the story of whose marriage, found in Morton's "New Canaan," the poet Whittier based the legend of his poem, "The Bridal of Pennacook." There is evidence that another of his daughters married "Numphow," ruler of the Wamesits and father of "Sam^l Numphow."

A petition to the General Court, October 10, 1665, shows the

names of those who petitioned several years before for permission "to redeeme our pore brother and cuntryman" "out of prison and bondage, whose Name is Nanamocomuck the eldest son of Passaconewa." He is said to have gone to the Ammoscoggins soon after, and it is probable that he died there. The celebrated Kankamagus was, it is supposed, his son, and was sachem of the Pennacooks after Wannalancet retired: he will be mentioned later on. The English called him John Hogkins.

It is said that near the close of his life Passaconaway called his people together and gave them his farewell charge, recounting his own early struggles against the English, which had proved in vain, and, showing the steady increase of the white people everywhere in spite of all opposition, he urged upon them their only safe policy, peaceful submission to and friendship with the English.

Upon Wannalancet's succession to his father's title and station, he kept faith with the English as his father had done and advised, and notwithstanding the many wrongs and provocations received by his people, and the urgent appeals of hostile tribes, he remained true, and was held in high esteem by the authorities of the colony. It is probable, however, that most of the power of his father over other tribes fell away from him, for he seems to have had little influence with the Ammoscoggins or Pequakets when war was once begun.

When he saw that it was to become a general war, and foresaw that, remaining in the vicinity of the English settlements, his people could hardly fail to be drawn into some active participation in it, either for or against the English, he prudently withdrew to safe retreats whenever the hostile forces approached his country; and he displayed not only prudence but, in the case when Capt. Mosely marched to Pennacook and burnt his village and destroyed the property and stored food of his people, great patience and power; for he restrained his warriors, who pressed him earnestly for permission to ambush and cut off Mosely's company, which they were in capacity, both of numbers and opportunity, to do.

To the friendly intercourse which Dover kept up with Wannalancet was due, probably in some measure, its immunity from repeated assaults. The Wamesits, living at what is now Lowell, formerly Chelmsford, were under the supervision of Lieut. Richardson of that town, and were a quiet, reputable "praying village" under the immediate rule of "Numphow," who, as has been intimated, was probably the brother-in-law of Wannalancet. These Indians suffered a great outrage at the hands of some English Indian-haters, who upon the burning of a barn of Lieut. Richardson at Chelmsford by some skulking hostile Indians, immediately and without authority assaulted these helpless Wamesits, wounding five women and children, and killing outright a lad, wounding his mother, daughter of Sagamore John and widow of another sagamore, "Tohatoonnee," a tried friend of the English. Numphow, with his praying village, fled to

Pennacook to Wannalancet, and wrote to Lieut. Henchman commanding at Chelmsford garrison, a letter explaining their flight.

It was by such outrages as these that those Indians who inclined to peace were alienated, and those already inclined to war embittered, and many of the young men of the Wamesits undoubtedly joined the hostile Indians, and passed to the eastward to swell the ranks and increase the efficiency of those bands of Ammoscoggins and Pequakets, who, with the "strange Indians" from the Nipmucks and western tribes, were carrying destruction to the eastward settlements. The Indians were said to be led in general by "Squando," sagamore of Saco, formerly a great friend of the English, but, outraged by the treatment of his wife and child by some English sailors, became filled with vengeful hatred towards all the English. These sailors, it is said, seeking to test the common report that Indian children could swim naturally, like the young of beasts, maliciously upset the canoe containing the woman and child; the child sank in the river, but the mother diving to the bottom saved it, which, however, soon after dying, its death was imputed to this treatment. Squando was said to be a great powow or wizard, and was probably the most influential chief from the Penobscot to the Piscataqua. It was not Philip's, but his own war that he was fighting against these eastern settlements. Major Walderne's letter and Gen. Denison's appeals seem to have moved the United Commissioners to the following action :

Boston Octob: 1st 1675

The Commissioners understanding that the Inhabitants of Pascataque, and so Eastward, are under great Distress, by Reason of the Rage of the Common Enemy, Doe commend it to the honourable Governor and Council of the Mattachusetts, that some present Reliefe may be sent unto them according to the present Exigent; the charges whereof shall be allowed in the general Account of the Colonyes. THOMAS DANFORTH, Presid^t.

In the name and by the order of the Commissioners.

As the people gathered more and more into the garrisons, the Indians gathered into larger bodies, with the evident design to reduce these garrisons one by one, while they warily watched to cut off all stragglers who attempted to pass from one to another. October 7th was observed as a day of public humiliation, and on that day three men were killed near Newichewannock, and soon after a garrison was assaulted and an old man named Beard was killed just outside the house, and other houses were burnt. On October 16th a large body of Indians, said to be a hundred, gathered towards the settlement of Salmon Falls, and surprising Richard Tozer at his house half a mile from the garrison, killed him and captured his son. Lieut. Roger Plaisted, who was in command at the garrison, hearing the guns of this attack, immediately sent seven men to find out the cause, when they were ambushed, and two or three were killed, and the others

barely escaped back to their garrison. Lieut. Plaisted at once despatched a messenger with the following letter to Major Walderne, which Mr. Hubbard, believing it to have been "the last Time that ever that good and useful Man set Pen to Paper," inserted in his history, and probably obtained the letter for that purpose from Major Walderne.

Salmon Falls October 16, 1675.

Mr Richard Waldern and Lieut. Coffin, These are to inform you, that just now the Indians are engaging us with at least one hundred Men, and have slain four of our men already, Richard Tozer, James Barney, Isaack Bottes, and Tozer's son and burnt Benoni Hodsden's House; Sir, if ever you have any love for us, and the Country, now shew yourself with Men to help us, or else we are all in great Danger to be slain, unless our God wonderfully appear for our Deliverance. They that cannot fight, let them pray; Nought else, but I rest,

Yours to serve you

Signed by ROGER PLAISTED,
GEORGE BROUGHTON.

Major Walderne was in no condition now to weaken his own garrisons, and had not the valor of Lieut. Plaisted outrun his discretion, his garrison as well as himself and family would have been safe in their defence; but venturing out with an ox-team guarded by twenty men, to bring in their dead for burial, they fell into an ambush after they had recovered the body of Tozer, and had returned to the swamp near the garrison where the others lay dead. It was the old story, a total surprise, a brave but vain defence, a sullen retreat, and Lieut. Plaisted with his sons, bravely covering the retreat, was surrounded and overwhelmed, but with proud defiance choosing death rather than capture, was at last overpowered by numbers and slain. His eldest son was also killed in this retreat, and another younger son wounded so that he died within a few weeks. The desperate fighting of the Plaisteds probably cost the Indians quite dearly, as they did not appear the next day when Capt. Charles Frost came up from his garrison at Sturgeon Creek (now Eliot, Me.) and buried the dead. Within a few weeks, however, they returned and began depredations in the same places, and ventured as far as Sturgeon Creek, where Capt. Frost had relaxed his vigilance and was working on his farm near his house, in which it is probable his boys were set to watch. The Indians crept up and fired a volley at him before he was aware of their presence; but he escaped unharmed to his own house, where he began to issue orders in a loud voice as though he had a large company of soldiers, which so frightened the Indians that they passed on and left him unmolested, though his entire force was but three boys, possibly his sons. The Indians then passed down on the Kittery side of the river, killed one man and burnt his house, "just over against Portsmouth;" but when a small cannon was fired thence and the shot fell not far

from them, they were so frightened thereat that they fled, leaving much of their plunder. They were pursued by the English at this time and tracked far into the woods by means of a light snow, but finally escaped into a swamp. This latter service was probably under the direction of Major Walderne, although we have no record of its details. For some time after this they continued to harass the settlements, but near the end of November, when it is said that they had killed or captured one hundred and fifty people from the Kennebec to the Piscataqua, they withdrew to their winter quarters, mostly at Ossipee and Pequaket. Gen. Denison designed, and had given orders to the officers in those parts to draw out all available men in their command to pursue the enemy to their homes and there attack and destroy them. This design fell through on account of the early and severe setting in of winter and the lack of proper snow-shoes in sufficient numbers. But the fierceness of the season, and the unusual numbers huddled together, with the probable neglect to secure their usual supply of food from harvests, hunting and fishing, so pinched them by famine, that they were forced to attempt a reconciliation, and came to Major Walderne and expressed sorrow for all the evil that had been done, and with him concluded a treaty* of peace, early in January, which remained unbroken until August, 1676.

Before June, 1676, the southern Indians, scattered and pursued from their tribes and homes, and fearing extermination, had hidden themselves amongst these eastern Indians, and hoped to escape thus the vengeance of the English. In the mean time the eastern tribes themselves, through the mediation of Wannalancet and Major Walderne, were trying in various ways to atone for past crimes. June 3, 1676, Wannalancet came in with several others of his sachems and brought some English captives, and also the Indians who had been engaged in the killing of Thomas Kembal of Bradford, a month before, and the capture of his family. This Indian was called "Symon" in the petition of Kembal's widow for redress, August 1, 1676. Two others were taken and delivered up at this time, "Andrew," who was implicated with Symon, and Peter, engaged in another crime; these were delivered by Wannalancet and his chiefs, and the captives, among them Kembal's family, were offered as a token of their repentance and as an atonement for their crime. But our magistrates, a little doubtful that the price was sufficient, threw these three Indians into prison at Dover for the time, from which they soon escaped, and going to the eastward joined the Kennebec and Ammoscoggins in the renewed hostilities later on.

* See Council Minutes, Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 122.

The following is the treaty of July 3d, 1676 :

Pascataqua River, Cochecho 3: July [1676]

At a meeting of y^e Committee appointed by y^e Honrd Gen^l Court for to treat y^e Indians of the Eastern Parts in order for y^e procuring an Hon^{ble} Peace with them, Wee wth y^e mutuall consent of y^e Sagamores Underwritten in behalfe of themselves & the Men—Indians belonging to them being about 300 in Number, have agreed as followeth :

1^{ly} That henceforwards none of y^e said Indians shall offer any Violence to y^e persons of any English, nor doe any Damage to theyr Estates in any kind whatsoever. And if any Indian or Indians shall offend herein they shall bring or cause to bee brought y^e offender to some English authority, there to be prosecuted by y^e English Lawes according to y^e Nature of y^e Offence.

2^{ly} That none of said Indians shall entertain at any Time any of our Enemies, but shall give p^{se}nt notice to y^e Comittee when any come among them, Ingaging to goe forth wth y^e English against them (if desired) in order to y^e seizing of them. And if any of s^d Indians shall themselves at any time bring such o^r Enemies unto us, they shall for their Reward have £3, for each they shall so bring in.

3^{ly} The Indians performing on theyr part, as is before expressed, wee y^e Committee doe ingage in y^e behalfe of y^e English not to offer any Violence to any of their persons or estates, and if any injury be offered to said Indians by any English, they complain^{ing} to Authority, y^e offender shall be prosecuted by English Lawes according to y^e nature of y^e offence. In witnes to each & all y^e p^{re}misses we have mutuall^y shaken hands and subscribed o^r Names.

Committee	{	Richard Waldern	The mark +	WANNALANCET* Sagam ^r
		Nic: Shapleigh	The mark +	SAMPSON ABOQUACEMOKA
		Tho: Daniel	The mark +	Mr. W ^m Sagamore
			The mark +	SQUANDO, Sagamore
		The mark +	DONY	
		The mark +	SEROGUMBA	
				SAM ^{ll} NUMPHOW
			The mark +	WAROCKOMEY

Mass. Arch. Vol. 30, p. 206.

It is not known how much influence the captive Indians, who escaped from Dover, exercised on the Kennebec Indians in the renewal of hostilities, but it is certain that "Simon" was at the head of those who struck the first blow at Casco (now Portland, Me.), in which attack the Brackets and others to the number of thirty-four were killed or captured. And this party immediately after joined those who had surprised Arrowsick and the settlements ad-

* Each of these made his own mark before his name, which was written by a clerk. The original paper is preserved in Mass. Archives, Vol. 30. Of the Indians here signing, except Wannalancet and Squando, not much is known. Sampson is supposed to have been from the east as far as Kennebec. Mr. W^m Sagamore was probably a teacher of the "Praying Indians." Dony was of the Ammoscoggins; Serogumbla perhaps of the Ossipees, and Warockomee of the Pequakets, though the assignment of these two last is scarcely more than a guess. Sam^{ll} Numphow was a ruler of the Wamesits, a Christian Indian.

joining; and subsequent events showed that both parties were acting in conjunction.

These hostilities were renewed August 11th, 1676, a little more than a month after the treaty at Cocheeo, which had included all the tribes as far as the Kennebec. None of the tribes whose representatives signed that treaty were implicated in these attacks upon Casco and Arrowsick, and therefore considered themselves upon a peace footing; so that, when at the beginning of September some four hundred of these, the men of the tribes, came in to Major Walderne's at Dover, under the leadership of Wannalancet, it was, perhaps, to prove themselves not engaged in the hostilities at the Eastward, since they were present now with the Pennacooks and the others who had kept the peace since the winter before. It was known, however, to the General Court that many of the Indians of the south and west who had been engaged with Philip formerly, had now found a retreat with these peaceful tribes. It is not probable that Wannalancet and his chiefs understood the treaty to impose upon them the duty of investigating the previous career of those Indians who might wish to join themselves to his tribe, nor to have considered themselves responsible for hostile acts done at Narraganset or on the Connecticut River. But the authorities determined upon the immediate suppression of these Eastern Indians, and sent Capts. Sill and Hathorne, as related in a previous chapter, with two companies and full commission to "kill and destroy" all hostile Indians wherever found. These companies, as above related, came to Dover in September, and there found the great gathering of Indians at Major Walderne's house. I have not found anywhere any attempt at an explanation of the presence of so many Indians at Dover, other than that which has been intimated above. It was known to all the Indians that the English had made overtures to the Mohawks to make war upon the Eastern and other hostile Indians. The Mohawks were regarded by all the Indians of the New England colonies with a dread which was almost insane; there seems to have been no thought of resistance to these dreaded foes. Many tribes and remnants of tribes began to sue for terms of peace; and a general proclamation was issued about this time in answer:

That treacherous Persons who began the War and those that have been barbourously bloody must not expect to have their lives spared; but others that have been drawn into the War, and acting only as Souldiers, submitting to be without Arms, and to live quietly and peaceably for the Future, shall have their Lives spared.

A contemporary writer of a pamphlet (written in Boston and published in London, 1676), who signs himself "R. H." (perhaps Richard Hutchinson), and gives a "True Account of the most considerable occurrences" in the war, from May 5th to August 4th, 1676, publishes the above decree of the Council, and evidently confounds the treaty of July 3d with the affair of September 7th; as

he says, that "upon the 10th day of July there were about 300 Indians at the Eastward, that surrendered themselves to the English and their sachems with them." He mentions Wannalancet and Squando, and says the dread of the Mohawks drove them in. He says nothing of a "sham-fight," nor of a capture. Mr. Hubbard is silent as to the "sham-fight"; but says that the Indians, "hoping to shrowd themselves under the Wings of some honester Indians about Quechecho, under Pretence of a Declaration sent out by the Governour and Council of the Massachusetts in July last"; and in this mention relates that our forces under Cpts. Hathorne and Sill, with the help of Major Walderne and Capt. Frost, and others residing in those parts "being then in Readiness," separated the vile and wicked from the rest and sent them down to the Governour at Boston. And in the other mention, in the account of the war with these Eastern Indians, he says that these officers mentioned above mutually agreed to seize upon all those Indians that were gathered "about Major Waldern's Dwelling in Quechecho," and that "the contrivement succeeded."

Lacking proof contrary, it would seem that the Indians were gathered, through the influence of Major Walderne and Wannalancet, to accept the terms of the General Court's proclamation of amnesty. The forcible capture of four hundred Indians even by the stratagem of a sham-fight seems highly improbable; and it is far likelier that the surrender was full and entirely peaceful, while the separation of the bad from the good was made after all were quietly surrounded by the English, possibly under the pretence of a "training." Mr. Belknap, the eminent historian of New Hampshire, many years minister at Dover, gives some detail of the sham-fight, and says that Major Walderne planned this method to secure the "bad" Indians without bloodshed. The Indians were set on one side the field and the English on the other, and after considerable manœuvring, the Indians were induced to fire the first volley, after which the four companies of Walderne, Sill, Hathorne, Frost, and probably Capt. Hunting's company of friendly Indians, surrounded and disarmed them. Whatever the method, it is certain that the Indians captured on September 6th, to the number of some two hundred, were sent down to Boston in vessels. September 10th a letter was sent by Major Walderne, Nicholas Shapleigh and Thomas Daniel, containing some explanations in regard to the prisoners and the charges against certain of them. The following is the letter:

Dover, 10th Septemb^r 1676

Much Hon^d

The Ind^{ns} being now on board & Comeing towards you Wee y^t have been Soe far Improv'd about y^m Thought it Convenient to Inform how ffar they have kept the Pease made with us & who of those are Concerned therein viz^t Penicooks Wonolausets Waymesits & Piscataq Ind^{ns} there be-

ing not any belonging further Eastw^d come in nor any other of those belonging to y^e South Side of Mirimack ever Included in our Pease; those of y^m y^t had made y^e Pease comeing in to Comply wth y^t the others to get Shelter under y^m but y^t they should be all treated alike as here they were wee humbly Conceived no Reason wee not being able to Charge those that had made y^e Pease wth any breach of Articles Save only y^t of entertaining our Southern Enemies but by y^t meanes wee came to Surprise Soe many of y^m There are Several of Piscataq Ind^{ns} here who before y^e Pease had been very Active Against us but since have lived quietly & Attended Order but yo^r Pleasures being to have all sent down to determine their Case at Boston, hath been Attended keeping here about 10 young men of y^m to Serve in y^e Army with their families & Some old men and theirs with Wonolansets Relations. Yesterday came in 2 Squawes informing y^t one eyed Ju^o & Jethro were designing y^e Surprizing of Canonicus & bringing in desireing Some of our old Men to come to Advise with him about it. I forthwith sent out there to further y^e design. Wee have information from Jewels Island y^t the former newes is not Soe bad being not above 10 in all killed and wounded being unexpectedly surprised If y^r be Any obstruction in y^e ffurther Prosecution of y^e enemy now by y^e Army, our People will quickly desert their Country, Shall Add no more at P^sent but Remain in much Hon^r Yo^r Humble Serv^{nts}

RICHARD WALDERNE

NIC: SHAPLEIGH

THO: DANIEL

Mass. Archives, Vol. 30, p. 218.

This letter shows that orders had come from the Council for all the Indians taken to be sent to Boston. There is no doubt that very many of those sent down considered themselves, and were considered by the above committee, as having accepted and fulfilled the terms of peace agreed upon in the treaty with Major Walderne the winter before. The Pennacooks and the Wamesits were the only tribes mentioned as included in the treaty, south of the Merrimack. It is evident that some of the "Praying" Indians were sent down also, as we find Mr. Eliot and Major Gookin at once advocating their cause and the claims of those who had accepted the terms of the treaty and supposed it covered and condoned past offences.

A good view of the condition of affairs at this Eastern part, where the war was now being waged, is gained from this letter from the chief citizens of "Northfolk and Yorkshire" Counties.

Portsm^o: 19: 8^{br}: 1676

Much Honrd

Being upon occasion of y^e Alarms lately rec^d fro y^e Enemy mett togeth^r at Portsm^o thought meet to give yo^r Hon^{rs} our sense of Matt^{rs} in y^e p^t of y^e Country in y^e best Mann^r y^t upon y^e place in y^e p^sent Hurry we are able to get. How things are now at Wells & York wee know not, but p^sume yo^selves will be informed ere y^s comes to yo^r hand p^e ye Post sent fro: y^e Comand^r in cheefe w^{ch} (as wee understand) went thro. y^s Towne y^e Morning. Only thus m^{ch} we have learnt y^t y^e Enemy is Numerous & about those p^{ts}, having carried all clear before him so far as Wells. That

hee is pceeding towards us & so on toward yo^r Selves y^e Enemy intimates & y^e thing itself speaks. What is meet to be now don is wth yo^rselves to say rather than for us to suggest, however being so deeply and nextly concerned humbly crave leave to offer to Considerⁿ whether y^e securing of what is left bee not o^r next Work rather than y^e Attempting to regain what is lost unless there were strength enough to doe both. It seemes little available to endeavor ought in y^e More Eastern places y^t are already conquered unless there bee several Garrisons made & kept with provision & Amunition & what may be suitable for a Recruit upon all Occasions, w^{ch} to do (at least y^s Winter) cannot say y^t y^e profit will make amends for y^e charge. Sure wee are y^t o^rselves (y^t is y^e County of Northfolk with Dover & Portsm^o) are so far from being capeable of Sparing any fiores for y^t Expedition y^t we find o^rselves so thinned and weakened by those y^t are out already y^t there is nothing but y^e singular Providence of God hath prevented our being utterly run down. The Enemy observes o^r motions & knows o^r strength (weaknes rather) bett^r yⁿ wee are willing hee should & p^{ro}bably had been with us ere this had not y^e Highest Power overruled him. And that Haver-hill, Extt^r, &c. are in like P^{ro}dicam^t wth Dover, &c. seems apparent, & hence as uncapeable of sparing Men. In true [*sic*] there is an Army out in Yorkshire w^{ch} will doubtles^s doe what may be done, yet there is room enough for y^e Enemy to slipp by them unobserved & if so what a Condition we are in is evident. Our own men are not enough to maintain o^r own places if any Assault be made & yet many of o^rs are now on the other side of the Pascataq^r River. Wee expect an Onsett in one place or other every day, & can expect no Reliefe fro those that are so far fro home. If it should bee thought meet y^t all y^e Men y^t are come to us & other parts of y^s Jurisdiction from y^e deserted & conquered Eastern Country should be ordered to y^e Places y^t are left on theyr own side of y^e River, y^t so o^rs may be recalled to theyr severall towns, it might possibly bee not unavailable to ye Ends; Especially if wth all some Indians might be ordered to these parts to bee upon a perpetuall scout fro place to place. We designe not a lessening or discouragm^t of y^e Army who rather need strengthening & Incouragm^t, for we verily think y^t if by y^e Good Hand of Providence y^e Army had not been there all y^e Parts on y^e other side of y^e River had been possest by the Enemy & perhaps o^rselves too ere y^s Time. But what we aim at is that o^rselves also may be put into Capacity to defend o^rselves. Wee are apt to fear we have been too bold with your Honors, but wee are sure our Intentions are good, & o^r Condition very bad except y^e Lord of Hosts appear for us speedily, & wee would be found in y^e Use of Meanes, commending o^r case to him y^t is able to protect us and direct yo^rselves in order thereunto, & remain

M^{ch} Hon^d Yo^r Humble Serv^{ts}

ROB^t PIKE,

RICHARD MARTYN,

W^m VAUGHAN,

RICHARD WALDERNE,

JOHN CUTT,

THO: DANIEL.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 69, p. 71.

A reference in Major Gookin's History of the "Praying Indians" proves the intimation in the following letter, that a second company of Indians was sent down, including those who came in after the army had passed to the Eastward, and also that Major Walderne himself went to Boston to assist in the "disposal," and sold some of

them; and probably Wannalancet and his men, and the Wamesits, went with the Major, by the requirement of the General Court. Major Gookin complains that some of his most trusted praying Indians, and especially Sam Numphow, with difficulty cleared themselves from the accusations of English who had been captives and swore against them, when, he says, it is not easy to identify Indians under even the most favorable conditions.

Maj^r Gookin,
Honrd Sr.

Cochecha, 2. 9^{ber} 1676

I rec^d yo^{rs} of 25th 8^{ber} concerning Some Ind^{ns} w^{ch} you Say it is Alledged I promised life & liberty to; time p^{mits} mee not at p^{rsent} to inlarge but for Answer in Short yoⁿ may Please to know I Promised neither Peter Jethro nor any other of y^t comp^a life or liberty it not being in my Power to doe it; all y^t I promised was to Peter Jethro viz^t that if he would use his Endeavo^r & be Instrumental ffor y^e bringing in one eyed Ju^o &c. I would acquaint y^e Govⁿ^r wth w^t service he had done & Improve my Interest in his behalfe this I Acquainted y^e Honrd Council wth if it had been their Pleasures to have Saved more of y^m it would not have troubled mee, as to y^e Squaw* you Mention belonging to one of Capt. Hunting's Souldiers, there was Such a one left of y^e first Great Comp^a of Ind^{ns} 1st [sent] down w^{ch} Capt. Hunting desired might Stay here til himselfe & her husband Came back from Eastw^d w^{ch} I consented to & how she came among y^t comp^a I know not I requiring none to goe yⁿ to Boston but those that came in after y^e Armies departure neither Knew I a word of it at Boston wⁿ I disposed of y^m soe twas her own fault in not Acquainting mee with it but if Said Squaw be not sent of I shall be freely willing to reimburse those Gen^t w^t they gave mee for her y^t she may be sett at liberty being wholly inocent as to w^t I^me charged wth I intend ere long to be at Boston wⁿ I doubt not but shall give you full satisfaction thereabout.

I am S^r yo^r Humble Serv^{tt} RICHARD WALDERNE.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 30, p. 226.

There is no doubt that the general voice of the colony highly applauded the action of Major Walderne, and gave him the credit of the capture, while Major Gookin questioned the method sharply.

The following list of credits is all that appears in Hull's Treasury accounts; and these men were those who served under him personally, the others being credited under their respective captains, and those after August 24th placed in a later Journal now lost.

Credited under Major Walderne.

January 25 1675			
		Richard Jones	02 02 00
Lawrence Clinton	02 15 08	Thomas Baker	02 02 00
James Ford	02 15 00	John Smith	02 02 00
William Delamore	02 02 00	Edward Fuller	02 02 00

* The Indian woman referred to in Major Walderne's letter was Mary Nemasit, wife of John, who had been in the army with the English under Capt. Hunting during the summer, and now comes armed with a letter from Major Gookin and demands his wife and child, who were in Boston Prison, and had been bought by Messrs. Thor: Deane and James Whetcomb. Nov. 23d, 1676, the Council gives order to the prison-keeper to deliver the woman and child to her husband. See Mass. Archives, Vol. 30, p. 228.

February 29, 1675			March 24 th 1675-6		
Thomas Rowlinson	02	02 00	Daniel Tenney	01	19 04
Joseph Fowler	03	12 00	April 24 th 1676		
Henry Ducker	03	12 00	Richard Freind	01	12 06
Jeremiah Neale	01	13 09	June 24 th 1676		
John Line	03	06 00	Mark Hascall	02	14 00
Samuel Stanwood	02	02 00	August 24 th 1676		
Nathaniel Bray	02	02 00	Edmund Henfield	01	12 06
George Cross	02	02 00			
Joseph Pillsbery	01	12 06			

THE WINTER EXPEDITION OF MAJOR WALDERNE TO THE EASTWARD.

In following the career of Major Walderne, it will be necessary to pass over a detailed account of affairs at the Eastward, in which, however, he bore no small part, being magistrate as well as military commander of this quarter of the colony. All the Eastern settlements were broken up, and the people who were neither killed nor made captive fled to the Westward towns for safety. Desolation lay over all, from Pemaquid as far as Wells. Capt. Hathorne's forces availed but little except to keep the Indians from any general gathering and organized attack. Small parties of the enemy were scattered along the frontiers, ready to fall upon any exposed settlement. The alarms, attacks and useless pursuits were many; till at last, about the middle of October, the celebrated "Mog," or "Mugg," came in to Major Walderne and announced himself as empowered to negotiate peace with the English on behalf of "Maddockawando and Cheberrina, Sachems of Penobscot." Mog came to Boston under safe conduct from the governor, and between Nov. 6th and 13th a treaty was concluded between the colony and the Eastward Indians, not including the "Ammoscoggins" and "Pequakets." During this time Capt. Hathorne, upon information received of Mog, marched his troops up to Ossipee, expecting to find there a large body of Indians and English captives, but found nothing but the empty fort, which they burnt, and returned to Berwick on November 9th. Upon the issue of the treaty the Council sent vessels to the Penobscot with Mog, held as voluntary hostage, to act as agent and interpreter. Maddockawando was found and confirmed the treaty made with Mog, and delivered the few prisoners which he held. Mog himself was permitted to go up into the woods to another plantation to persuade other Indians to join in the treaty, and to bring in some captives which they held; but not returning, they supposed he was either killed or detained as prisoner by the Indians, as he told them when he left them might be the result. They waited more than a week, and then came home, arriving at Boston December 25th, 1676. Nothing more was heard of the captives at the Eastward or of Mog until January 5th, when one

Francis Card, a captive, escaped, and made his way to Blackpoint and thence to Boston, where he made an interesting statement of the condition of things at the Eastward; told the story of his escape, stated the location and strength of the enemy, putting their entire fighting force at not above one hundred and fifty fighting men; he described the country and explained the best places to land a force, and urged that an expedition be sent at once before they removed higher up the river. The details of all the matters referred to above are to be given in another chapter. The statement made by Card, and especially his implication of Mog as a "Rogue" who came back among the Indians, and laughed at the English and their "kinde Entertainment," and saying he had found a way to burn Boston, seems to have renewed the determination of the Council to send an expedition immediately to attempt the recovery of their forts and the captive English. Other things also moved them, such as the discovery that the Narraganset Indians were abroad in these Eastward parts, three being captured by Major Walderne's Indians in the woods near Dover; and when several of the chief men about Portsmouth, &c., came to Boston advising the expedition, it was determined, and Major Walderne was made commander in chief.

The expedition consisted of two companies of sixty men from Boston and Salem; the first, sixty Natick Indians under Capt. Samuel Hunting; the second, sixty men under Lieut. Thomas Fiske of Wenham, whose commission for this service is preserved in the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 69, p. 106, and is dated February 5th, 1676. These sailed from Salem the first week in February, directly to Blackpoint, where Major Walderne met them with the forces raised by him and Capt. Frost in their parts. The Council gave Major Walderne instruction and commission as follows:

Instructions for Major Rich. Walderne.

You shal repaire to Blacke point wth the 60 souldiers under capt. frost that you are authorized by y^e Council to raise in Dover Portsmouth & yorkshire by y^e 8 of feb^r where you are to take under your command the other forces from Boston & Salem under the command of Capt. Hunting & Leiftenant Fiske & other sea officers, from whence wth all expedition wth the advice of your commanders you shall advance towards the enemy at Kinnebeck or elsewhere, & according to the proposed designe, endeavour wth all silence & secresy to surprize them in their quarters wherein if it please God to succeed you, you shall do your utmost endeavour to save and secure the English prisoners. If you fail in this designe you shall assay by alle means in your power to disturb & destroy the enemy unless you have such overtures from them as may give some competent assurance that an honorable and safe peace may be concluded with them wherein you must avoyd all trifling & delays & wth all possible speed make despatch of the affaire not trusting them without first delivery of all the Captives & vessels in their hands. If you should in conclusion find it necessary to leave a garrison in Kinnebeck, wee must leave it to your discretion. You shall

use utmost expedition as winds & other advantages will permit lest y^e season be lost and charges seem without profit.

Praying God to be with you

E. R. S.

24 Janu^r 1676

Mass. Archives, Vol. 69, p. 101.

The commission of Major Walderne :

J. L. G. Wth the Consent of the Council.

To Major Richard Walden.

whereas you are apoynted Cor-in-chiefe of the forces Now to be raised ag^t the enemy the pagans in the East for the assaulting them at Kinnebeck, we have ordered the rendezvous of the S^d forces at Black point the 8th febr next doe hereby order & authorize you to take under your Command and conduct the S^d forces w^{ch} you are to require to obey & attend your orders & Commands as their Commander-in-chiefe & you to leade conduct & order the S^d forces for the best service of the country against the Common enemy whom you are to endeavour to surprize kill & destroy by all means in your power & al Com^ds, Officers & soulders under you are required to yeild obedience to endeavour to recover the English prisoners from out of their possession. you are also to govern the forces under your Command according to the laws enacted by the Gener^{all} C^t to attend all such orders & commands as you shall receive from time to time from the general Court Councill or other Superior authority.

Given in Boston 29 jan, 1676.

Past

E. R. S.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 69, p. 101.

A journal account of this expedition was kept by Major Walderne, which Mr. Hubbard published in his History, from the original copy. Only an abstract can find place here.

On February 17th Major Walderne, with his whole command, sailed from Blackpoint for "Portland."* On the east side of Cape Elizabeth one of their scouts, John Pain (former keeper of the Major's Pennacook truck-house probably) appeared and reported the way clear of ice and Indians. They sailed across to "Mary Point" (Mare-point), arriving late at night. On the 18th the scouts found a birch canoe and the tracks of three Indians at "Muckquet" (Maquoit). Just as the companies were drawn up for the march, five canoes of Indians landed on an island opposite (probably Birch Island) and signalled for a parley; John Pain was sent, and they promised to bring the captives in the morning. Pain returned to the Indians, and "Simon," one of their leaders, came as a hostage in his place, who being questioned by the Major, declared that "Blind Will" stirred up late trouble; that they desired peace; that Squando was over at the island and would return the captives to Major Walderne. Squando was summoned, and replied that he would meet the Major if he would come half way alone in a canoe. Major Walderne refused, and the Indian promised to come in the morning. On the 19th they appeared in fourteen canoes. They

* Falmouth, this probably the first mention as "Portland."

landed upon a point where there was a house which was set on fire, and their scouts seemed to challenge our men to fight, upon which our troops marched against them as secretly as possible, when they fled, but Capt. Frost came upon their main body and had a sharp skirmish, killing and wounding several without any loss to his own. But anxious for the captives, the Major immediately hung out a flag of truce, which was immediately answered with one by them. John Pain and "Simon" therefore met and had an explanation half way between the lines. The house was fired accidentally, and their scouts did not mean to challenge ours, but hailed them according to their custom; said the captives were a great way off and had not yet arrived, but promised them next day. On the 20th they were weather-bound. On the 21st they sailed for Arrowsick. On the 22d they sailed up the river till stopped by the ice, and then landed their forces about twelve miles from Abbigadassit Fort, at which they arrived after a six-hours' march, and found the fort empty. On the 23d, at a council-of-war, it was decided that Major Walderne should sail with some part of his forces for the Penobscot, while the rest should remain and build a garrison. On the 24th the Major located a site opposite the lower end of Arrowsick Island, "at John Baker's house." Sunday, February 25th, they rested at this place. On the 26th Major Walderne with sixty men in two vessels sailed for Penobscot River. On the way two Indians signalled them from a canoe off "Gyobscot Point," and John Pain and Walt. Gendal were sent to speak with them, and were told that many Indians and some English captives were at Pemaquid. The whole force immediately set sail and came to that place about four o'clock that same day, and were immediately hailed by Indians from "Mr. Gardner's Fort." John Pain was sent ashore to them and found the chief sagamore Mattahando with other sachems and "sundry sorts of Indians." The chief wished to speak with Capt. Davis, and was very desirous of peace, promising to deliver the captives then at Penobscot, next morning. Capt. Davis with John Pain went ashore and stayed, while three sagamores went aboard to talk with Major Walderne, who soon after went ashore with six men unarmed, and was promised that the captives should be delivered next morning. On the 27th, after a long negotiation and a ransom of twelve skins to each captive, they delivered William Chadburne, John Whinnick (Winnock) and John Wormwood, these being all they would own that they had, or that it could be proved that they had. Some of the old sagamores seemed to be sincere, and declared that they were against the war, but could not rule their young men. Our officers, however, had little confidence in them, and in council decided to get all the captives and then to try to surprise their whole company. In pursuance of this design the Major with five others went ashore bearing a part of the ransom and carefully providing against surprise. While looking about to discover if the Indians

were as wisely provided against Christian treachery as they against heathen treachery, he found a lance-head partly concealed under a board, seizing which he immediately advanced upon the Indians, charging them with treachery, swung his cap above his head as a signal to his men to come ashore, as was agreed, while those who were with the Major immediately rallied about to defend him from the Indians who advanced to seize him, and also to secure the goods which he had brought ashore. Some squaws seized a bundle of muskets that were hidden close by and fled with them. Capt. Frost and Lieut. Nutter captured Megunnaway, "a notorious rogue," and carried him on board their vessel. As soon as the English got on shore they pursued the Indians to their canoes so closely that they were able to kill seven before they reached their boats, and as many more probably afterwards. Four were taken prisoners, of whom one was the sister of Madockawando. The old chief Mattahando was among the killed. Not more than twenty-five warriors were present in this engagement. The English secured a large amount of plunder, about a thousand pounds of dried beef with the rest. Megunnaway was next day executed by shooting, it being declared by witnesses that he was concerned in the killing of Thomas Bracket at Falmouth. On February 28th they sailed back to Kennebeck, where Lieut. Fiske with a party of forty men secured some forty bushels of wheat, several cannon, some anchors, and a great quantity of boards from Arrowsick, a part of which they loaded upon their vessels. They killed two Indians upon Arrowsick Island, where they discovered the body of the lamented Capt. Lake, which was wonderfully preserved. This was brought home to Boston, where they arrived March 11th, 1676-7.

This expedition was the closing active military service of Major Walderne, although he still retained his office as Major, and was constantly concerned as such, and held his place as magistrate and leading citizen during his life. In the spring of 1678 this war with the Indians closed. Major Walderne, however, became involved in the strife of the factions that claimed the government of New Hampshire, and his life thus continued in turbulence, even to its tragic close, the manner of which requires here some notice.

For about eleven years there had been peace with the Indians. The Pennacooks had long ago returned, and Kankamagus (called by the English "John Hogkins," said to be son of Passaconaway's eldest son Nanamocumuck and so Wanalancet's nephew) had by his energy and wisdom restored them to something of their former prosperity. But this chief was somewhat impatient under the constant unjust encroachments and wrongs of the English, and their constant threats that they would bring the Mohawks upon them, and at last, involved in some new occasion of complaint, he fled to his relatives among the Androscoggins some time in the year 1686, where, finding some others with like wrongs and resentments, he

became a nucleus of discontent. There were many also scattered among the Eastern tribes who had been captured at Dover in 1676 and sold into slavery, and had made their way back to find their tribes scattered, their families broken up and lost. To many of these nothing was left but hate and vengeance upon the English, and especially against the one man whom they believed responsible for the transaction; the man was Major Walderne. Other causes were doubtless at work at the Eastward by the designs of the French and the Jesuit missionaries in the zeal for their religion; but the resentment seems to have centred upon Coheco and Major Walderne. In June, 1689, the people began to be aware of large numbers of strange Indians among those who came in to trade, and many did not seem to come for that purpose, but were observed carefully scrutinizing the defences and approaches. The people became alarmed, and one after another many came and urged Major Walderne to take some precautions of defence. He, however, would not hearken, laughed at their fears, and told them to "go and plant their pumpkins," and he would tell them when the Indians should attack them. There were many old friends of the Major and of the English of Dover among the neighboring Indians, and some of these tried to warn them of their danger. A squaw came through the town, and here and there significantly recited the words which have been handed down in the rhyme,

O Major Waldron, you great sagamore
What will you do, Indians at your door.

Capt. Thomas Hinchman of Chelmsford also was apprized of the plot against Dover, and sent down a letter of warning to the Council at Boston, as follows:

Hon^d Sir

This day 2 Indians came from Pennacook, viz. Job Maramasquand and Peter Muckamug, who report y^t damage will undoubtedly be done within a few days at Piscataqua, and y^t Major Waldorn, in particular, is threatened; and Intimates fears y^t mischief quickly will be done at Dunstable. The Indians can give a more particular account to your honor. They say iff damage be done, the blame shall not be on them, having given a faithful account of what they hear; and are upon that report moved to leave y^r habitation and corn at Pennacook. S^r, I was verry loth to trouble you and to expose myself to the Censure and derision of some of the confident people, that were pleased to make sport of what I sent down by Capt. Tom. I am constrained from a sense of my duty and from love of my countrymen to give the acct. as above. So with my humble service to your Honor, and prayers for the safety of an Indangered people,

I am, S^r, your humble servant

THO: HINCHMAN.

June 22 [1689]

Mass. Archives, Vol. 107, p. 139.

This letter was received by Mr. Danforth, and on the 27th laid before Gov. Bradstreet and the Council, and a messenger was sent to Dover the same day with this warning to Major Walderne:

Boston: 27.: June: 1689

Honor^d Sir

The Governor and Councill haveing this day received a Letter from Major Henchman of Chelmsford, that some Indians are come unto them, who report that there is a gathering of some Indians in or about Pene-cooke with designe of mischiefe to the English, amongst the said Indians is one Hawkins [Hogkins or Kankamagus] is said to be a principle designer, and that they have a particular designe against yourselfe and Mr. Peter Coffin which the Councill thought it necessary presently to dispatch Advice thereof to give you notice that you take care of yo^r own Safeguard, they intending endeavour to to betray you on a pretention of Trade. Please forthwith to Signify import hereof to Mr. Coffin and others as you shall think necessary, and Advise of what Information you may receive at any time of the Indians motions.

By Order in Councill,

ISA: ADDINGTON, Sec'y.

For Major Rich^d Walden and Mr. Peter Coffin
or either of them at Cocheca with all
possible [haste]

Mass. Archives, Vol. 107, p. 144.

The messengers made all possible speed for Dover, but were detained at the Ferry at Newbury, and did not arrive until June 28th, the day after the blow had fallen. On the evening of the 27th two squaws applied at each of the garrison houses for permission to sleep inside, as was often done, and two were admitted into each of the garrisons, Walderne's, Heard's and Otis's, and were shown how to unfasten the gates if they wished to go away during the night. There was a report of a great number of Indians coming to trade next day, and the sachem Wesandowit, who had taken supper at the Major's, asked him pointedly, "Brother Waldron, what would you do if the strange Indians should come?" "I could assemble a hundred men by lifting up my finger," replied the Major in careless indifference. And thus all retired to rest; no watch was placed and no precautions taken.

After midnight the gates were opened by the squaws. The Indians waiting outside rushed in and took possession without any alarm and rushed into the Major's rooms. Aroused from sleep, the old man sprang up, seized his sword, and despite his eighty years, drove them before him through several rooms, but turning to secure other arms, they sprang upon him from behind and struck him down with a hatchet; they bound him into his arm-chair and placed him upon a long table; they mocked him, and asked, "Who shall judge Indians now?" They compelled the family of the Major to prepare them supper, after which they drew their knives, and slashed the helpless old man across the breast, saying "I cross out my account." They then cut off his ears and nose and forced them into his mouth, till at last, when fainting with the loss of blood he was about to fall, one of them held his sword beneath him, upon which falling he expired.

The following letter was written by his son, who was then at Portsmouth, as is seen.

Portsm^o: 28th: June 1689 ab^t 8 a clock morning

Just now came ashore here From Coheca Jn^o Ham & his wife who went hence last night homewo^d (they living wthin a mile of Maj^r Waldron) & ab^t break of the day goeing up the river in a cannoo they heard guns fired but notwthstanding proceeded to Land at Maj^r Waldrons landing place by w^{ch} time it began to be light & then they Saw ab^t twenty Ind^{ns} near Mr. Coffins Garrison Shooting & Shouting as many more about Richard Otis's & Tho: Pains but Saw their way clear to Maj^r Waldrons where they Intended Imediately to secure themselves but comeing to the gate & calling & knocking could receive noe answer yet saw a light in one of y^e Chambers & one of y^m say (looking through a crack of the gate) that he saw Sundry Ind^{ns} wthin y^e Garrison w^{ch} suppose had murther'd Maj^r Waldron & his Familie & thereupon they betook y^mselves to make an escape w^{ch} they did & mett wth one of Otis sons who alsoe escaped from his Fathers garrison Informing y^t his Father and y^e rest of the Family were killed. Quickly after [they] set sundry houses afire this is all the Acc^{tt} wee have at p^rsent w^{ch} being given in a Surprize may admitt of some alteration but Doubtlesse the most of those Families at or ab^t Cohecha are destroyed.

The above Acc^{tt} was related to mee.

RICHARD WALDRON jun^r.

Mass. Archives, Hutchinson Papers, Vol. 3, p. 376.

Thus tragically closed the eventful life of Major Richard Walderne, in the opinion of many the most notable of the early settlers of New Hampshire.

WANNALANSET. On page 254, the signature is misprinted Wannalancet by a mistake of the printer after the last revision of the proof. In the ancient documents and earliest published references the name is variously spelled, like other Indian names. Indian signatures are nearly always rude marks, to which some Englishman attached the Indian's name, spelling it according to his ability to transfer the sound as the Indian pronounced it; Sam^l Numphow apparently signed his own name, he being one of the "Praying Indians," who had been taught the rudiments of reading and writing. The Christian name Samuel, was given of course by the English, according to the custom; so that there is no proper authority for Indian names except the custom of their immediate successors; and in the text I have followed the most prevalent form of spelling the name (i.e.) Wannalancet, while the signature attached to the old chief's mark is spelled with an s, instead of a c. The signature is a copy, of course, the text being left to the writer's own taste or opinion.

NO. XXIII.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM HATHORNE.

WILLIAM HATHORNE, the father of Captain William Hathorne, was the son of William and Sara, of Binfield, Berkshire Co., England, born about 1607, and came to this country with Winthrop, in the Arbella, in 1630, and settled first at Dorchester, where he was a land holder, and appears prominently in affairs in the earliest days of the settlement, and until 1636, when he removed to Salem. He was admitted freeman in 1634, and was chosen deputy in 1635 and 1637, and from Salem many times afterwards; and when, in 1644, the "House of Deputies" elected a Speaker for the first time, he was elected, and served in that position for several years afterwards. He was elected Assistant in 1662, which office he retained until 1679, and the history of the times in which he lived shows him to have been one of the most able, energetic, and widely influential men in New England, in his day. He was mentioned as present at the great "training" at Boston, 1639; was commissioned Captain of the company at Salem, May 1, 1646, and Major before 1656. See also "Wonder-working Providence," p. 109. While he was evidently narrow and bigoted in his religious theories, and arbitrary and intolerant in the administration of affairs, both of church and state, he was the zealous and fearless advocate of the personal rights of freemen as against royal emissaries and agents.

The investigations of our Mr. Waters, in the English Archives, have revealed the Hathorne ancestry in England as given above, and from additional data gathered by him and others, we have room for the following brief statement, tracing the descent of the distinguished Nathaniel Hawthorne of our own day from this eminent ancestor.

William¹ Hathorne brought with him to this country his wife Anne, by whom he had children:

- i. A daughter.²
- ii. Sarah,² b. March 11, 1634-5; m. Joseph Coker, of Newbury.
- iii. Eleazer,² b. Aug. 1, 1637; m. Abigail, dau. of George Curwen.
- iv. Nathaniel,² b. Aug. 11, 1639.
- v. JOHN,² b. Aug. 5, 1641; m. RUTH GARDNER, dau. of George.
- vi. Anna,² b. Dec. 12, 1643; m. Joseph Porter.
- vii. WILLIAM,² b. April 1, 1645; m. Sarah —.
- viii. Elizabeth,² b. 1649; m. Israel Porter.

Major William Hathorne died in 1681, in his 74th year. Wil-probated June 28, 1681; mentions son William lately deceased, and Sarah the widow of the same, and her heirs; appoints wife Anne sole executrix.

JOHN² Hathorne, distinguished both in civil and military affairs, serving as Captain in the war with the Eastern Indians, the Colonel of a regiment, and in the expedition of 1696 chief commander; admitted freeman 1677; Deputy, 1683; Assistant, 1684–1711 (except in Andros's brief rule), and is remembered unhappily as the most intolerant and cruel of the judges in the witchcraft delusion. He had, by his wife Ruth (Gardner):

- i. John.³ ii. Nathaniel.³ iii. Ebenezer.³
- iv. JOSEPH,³ bapt. June, 1691; m. Sarah, dau. of William Bowditch.
- v. Ruth.³ vi. Benjamin.³

JOSEPH³ and Sarah (Bowditch) had children:—1. William.⁴ 2. Joseph.⁴ 3. John.⁴ 4. Sarah.⁴ 5. Ebenezer.⁶ 6. DANIEL.⁴ 7. Ruth.⁴

DANIEL,⁴ m. Rachel Phelps, and had children:—1. Daniel,⁵ died soon. 2. Sarah.⁵ 3. Eunice.⁶ 4. Daniel⁵ 2d. 5. Judith.⁵ 6. NATHANIEL,⁵ b. May 19, 1775; he was a sea captain and died in Surinam in 1808; married Elizabeth Clark Manning and had two children:—1. Elizabeth Manning,⁶ b. Mar. 7, 1802. 2. NATHANIEL,⁶ b. July 4, 1804; m. Sophia Peabody, of Salem, July, 1842, and died at Plymouth, N. H., May 19, 1864. He changed the old surname to Hawthorne, and by his genius placed it in the front rank of the world's great authors. The apology for this digression is the eminence of this Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Other descendants of Major William,¹ through other lines of descent than John and William, Jr., are scattered over the whole country, and bear both forms of the surname.

Capt. WILLIAM² HATHORNE, son of Major William, and the subject of this sketch, has, in all published accounts known to me, been very strangely overlooked by being identified as one with his father. My attention was first called to the error of that supposition by the mention of his "father" in his letter from Casco, Sept. 22, 1676. I found that he was engaged at the Eastward from September 6th up to November 10th, and that his father, Major William, Assistant, was present in his place in the General Court at Boston most of that time; that administration upon the estate of Capt. William was granted to his widow Sarah, February 4, 1678–9, Daniel Gookin and William Hathorne (Major) being the Magistrates. Major William died 1681, and in his will mentions having given his son William land at Groton which he confirms to his widow Sarah and her heirs.

In the expedition of December, 1675, against the Narragansetts, as has been previously noted, Capt. Hathorne was appointed lieu-

tenant of the company under Capt. Joseph Gardiner, and when that brave officer fell, at the great "Fort Fight," he succeeded to the command of the company, which he held during the remainder of that campaign, and, as we have seen in that chapter, most of that company were paid off as having served under him.

In August, 1676, Capt. Hathorne was again called into service (as has been noted in several previous chapters), to take command of the forces sent to the eastward. The surrender of the great body of Indians at Cochecho was accomplished in September, and after those who were declared hostiles were sent in ships to Boston, and Wannalanset and all others who were proved friendly were dismissed to their homes, Capt. Hathorne immediately pushed forward with his forces towards the East. He had a force of four companies besides his own, numbering, probably, in all nearly four hundred men; his own and Capt. Sill's men numbered one hundred and thirty, and together with Capt. Hunting's company of forty Indians, made up the Massachusetts quota, to which Major Walderne was expected to add about as many more of his own men and recruits in Yorkshire, these last two companies to be under Capt. Charles Frost of Kittery, and the whole force under Capt. Hathorne as Major. This "army" marched from Berwick to Wells on Sept. 8th, where they probably were delayed for a day or two, organizing for the march and deliberating as to the marching to Ossipee where it was rumored that a large force of Indians with their women and children were gathered in an old fort which some traders had built them as against the Mohawks, and where were a good many English captives taken just before from the plantations, from Kennebec to Casco. This expedition was the plan of General Denison, but discretionary power had been given Capt. Hathorne, and as rumors of large bodies of Indians still threatened the people that remained shut up in their garrisons in some of the seaside towns, who would perhaps fall upon these nearer places if they should withdraw, it was finally decided to go to the relief of the threatened towns. They accordingly marched from Wells to Winter Harbor, and thence by water passed to Blackpoint, and thence to Casco, where they arrived on the 19th, and on the 22d the captain sends the following letter:

CASCO 22^d Sept. 1676.

Hon^d Sir

Att 9 a clock at night.

I have not had anything to writte nor anythinge woorth Information, wee came Into these parts y^e 19th Instant when we catched an Indian; Sagamore of Peggwakick (and took y^e gun of another) who informed us that Kennebeck Indians were to come Into these parts that night or the next day he told us that y^e Indians In these parts are not above 30 or 40 fighting men & that these keep upp at Orsybee or Peggwackick, which is :60: myles from us, he saith he knows of no French men among them as y^e Inhabitants Informed us, wee found him in many lyes, & so ordered him to be put to death, & y^e Cochecho Indians to be his executioners; which

was redily done by them, this day, going over a River wee were Ambuscaded, but soon gott over and putt them to flight. killed dead In y^e Place but one Named Ju^o Sampson, who was well acquainted with Maj. Waldens Indians, they say he was a Captaine, but such are all y^e Ennemyes they kill (he was double Armed which wee took) wee find itt very difficult to come neire them there is soe many Rivers & soe much broken land, that they soon Escape by canoes; y^e country being full of them, I would Intreat your Hon^{rs} to Order something Concerning y^e State of affaires here, Many Inhabitants of y^e place being come to take off, these Come and kill there Cattle only they want some helpe from us, I know not whether it may be for y^e Interest of y^e Country for all to stay; & If wee goe into y^e Country to Peggwackick we can leave none, I desire your Hon^{rs} Advise and commands concerning this Also, Wee have had noe bread these three dayes I suppose y^e reason is y^e contrary Winds, because I have sent to Mr Martin twice; have had one returne but noe bread, wee can doe well without unless we goe up into y^e country while our people are in health as they are generally prayed be y^e Lord for itt, I Humbly Request your Honour to Remember my duty to my father & Love to Rest of Friends, If you have an opportunity & soe I Rest
your Hon^{rs} Humble Servant

WILLIAM HATHORNE.

The Indian that was taken told us that there be 20 English Captives at Peggwackick 2 of them men, & that Capt. Lake was killed, they say that Kennebeck Indians kill all.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 69, p. 61.

I have found no reference to the place which Capt. Hathorne's troops occupied during their stay at Falmouth, but as it appears that the Neck had been deserted, and the outlying residents driven away and their homes destroyed, it seems probable that those who had fled to Blackpoint and vicinity for safety, mostly returned with the troops to Munjoy's Garrison, and among these were probably George Felt and those others who, on Sept. 23d, ventured in boats upon "Munjoy's Island" (to secure some sheep left there in their flight), and were all cut off by the Indians who were concealed there, lying in wait. Felt and his companions made a desperate resistance, having fled to the ruins of an old "Stone House," but were overpowered and destroyed. This was in plain sight of our forces, who lacking boats sufficient, were entirely unable to prevent the sad issue of this attempt, against which Capt. Hathorne had earnestly protested, there being no sufficient vessel to carry over an adequate guard, and a large body of the enemy known to be in the vicinity. Our Indian scouts were out after the enemy constantly, and captured those referred to in the letter, and evidently did nearly all the really effective work, for which, however, but little credit was given them by the English, except suspicion of carelessness or treachery and cowardice; and yet Capt Hathorne's next letter protests against the withdrawal of these same Indians. It was very hard for the English to learn that their unwieldy troops and clumsy methods were no match for the quick-moving and wary enemy, who fled before the

advance of the troops, and then dodging around them, struck a blow in the rear. Two days after the tragedy at Munjoy's Island, another party struck a sudden blow at Wells, and anon at Cape Neddick, which occasioned the immediate return of the forces to that place, as will appear by the following letter :

WELLS: 2: 8: 1676

Honrd Senat^s

Att 9 clock morning

I received your Ord^r of y^e 16th of Sept^r on y^e 25th of y^e same. In Answare to w^{ch}, I have sent Capt. Hunting from here to Maj^r Walden; y^e occasion of our Returne was y^e sad news of y^e Enimy, burning Cape nettick & destroying y^e people to y^e number of 6 or 7 persons besids those of this towne which are : 3: two of them y^e 24th y^e other : 27th: of the month; In our Returne wee mett with divers things of concernment w^{ch} I Ingadged to Aquaint your Hon^{rs} with; Imp^{mis}, att blackpoint, the people there are in great distraction and disorder; I know not of former Neglects but now they are a people ungoverned, & Attend little to y^e Government there established soe that y^e most of y^e towne desert y^e place, though we told them of a law they were Ignorant of w^{ch} we think we doe perfectly remember of 20^{lb} penalty for any that desert y^e frontiers, w^{ch} we thinke is most Rationall, y^e Inhabittants there having little to doe; we are ready to thinke they might better be Employed there than many of ours, who have famillys att home and a considerable charge, to be brieft Capt. Joslin & Capt. Scottow desire an Expreste from your Hon^{rs} they having had noe knowledge of y^e law.

2^{dly} Major Pembleton att Winter Harbour wth Whome I would have left some men; as Also wth Mr. Warrin they made these objections; The Maj^{rs} were these: That he could not subsist long, & he had as good remove while he had something as to stay while all was spent, Therefore unlesse Country sends a supply or Maintaine y^e Garrison there; he cannot hold out, Mr. Warrin is otherwise minded but I cannot Enlarge, supposing Maj^r Clarke can Inform your Hon^{rs}, Since our Comming Heither we have consulted y^e Millitia, who Informe us that the mind of this towne In Gen^l is to leave the place, & though y^e Honrd Court or Councell have formerly given an Ord^r concerning them; In paticul^r yett yy now begg that itt might be renewed & that your Hon^{rs} would Ord^r as to these Numb^{rs} of Garrison Souldiers, Soe to maintainance, they being poore yet many of them willing According to Abillity, The next thing I shall trouble your Hon^{rs} wth is y^e dissatisfaction that is amongst our selves, about y^e drawing y^e Indians off, & Maj^r Waldens libberty to Command off Capt. Frost, w^{ch} he pretends to have, the w^{ch} are two thirds and more of y^e Army, Capt. Sells Company & myne being not above .9. or .10. fyles now who are judged here not more then is necessary to Garrison this towne & York, we would be bold to speak our minds further, & Crave that your Hon^{rs} may not be offended at us, or Receive from others false Information, The Indians thus drawne off by themselves as long as they have only Indⁿ Speritts, will doe little or noe service for y^e Country who In tyme of Ingadgment ever took y^e English for there bullwark, & will not Charge to Any purpose until y^e Enimy fly, I think some of us have had tyme to be Aquainted wth there manners As to my selfe I would Humbly Request your Hon^{rs} to call me home; though I have An Earnest desire to doe god & y^e Country service, yett there is a Straing Antypathy in me Against lying in Garrison, Here is many of our

Company sick of violent distemp^{rs} one of myne is dead & two others I much feare, The Lord direct your Hon^{rs} & give us your servants prudence to Act by your Ord^{rs} According to his good will and pleasure.

I Remaine

Your Hon^{rs} Humble Servant

WILLIAM HATHORNE.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 69, p. 65.

After the return to Wells there was delay and uncertainty about preparations for the march to Ossipee, until the news of the capture of Black point and the threatened approach of the victorious Indians put the troops upon the guard of the towns near at hand. Capt. Hathorne and his troops remained in these parts in service until November 1st, when in company with Capt. Sill he set forth upon the long delayed march to Ossipee, where they arrived after a very hard march of four days, finding never an Indian on the way or at the Great Fort. The Captain sent a party of his men up some twenty miles farther, but without result, and having burnt the fort, the troops returned to Berwick, where they arrived on November 9th. In the meantime, the treaty with Sachem Mugg had been concluded, and the troops under Capt. Hathorne were soon dismissed.

It will be remembered that the latest credits contained in Hull's accounts are September 23, 1676, so that the men serving under the Capt. in this expedition had credit in a later Journal, which is now lost.

The following petition explains itself:

To the Hon^d Generall Court now Assembled in Boston; 1679;

The humble peticon of Sarah Hathorne widdow to Capt. William Hathorne deceased

Humbly Showeth

That your peticoners late husband, being employed in the Countreyes service against the Indians, was not satisfied the arrears due to him for his said service; the bill not being delivered to the Treasurer in time, through the negligence of the Constable; which caused the Treasurer to refuse payment; And your peticoners husband, being deceased, hath left your peticoner in a meane condition, as to her outward estate, being indebted to severall persons and not in a capacitee to make payment, without receiving her late husband's arrears from the country.

The p'misses considered your peticoner humbly craves, this hon^d Court would be pleased to order speedy payment of the arrears due to her late husband, in such proportion as yo^r hon^{ors} in wisdom shall judge convenient.

And yo^r peticoner (as in duty bound) shall pray
for you^r Hono^{rs} prosperity.

SARAH HATHORNE.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 69, p. 237.

This was granted. See also Coll. Records, Vol. VI.

NO. XXIV.

CAPT. JOSHUA SCOTTOW AND HIS MEN.

JOSHUA SCOTTOW came to Boston with his mother Thomasine, who joined the church September 21, 1634. He with his brother Thomas joined the church May 19, 1639. He married Lydia ———, and had Joshua, b. Sept 30, 1641, and died soon; Joshua, b. Aug. 12, 1643; Lydia, bap. June 29, 1645; Elizabeth, b. July 29, 1647; Rebecca, b. October 10, 1652; Mary, b. May 11, 1656; Thomas, June 30, 1659, grad. H. C. 1677. Capt. Scottow was of the Artillery Company in 1645, Ensign in 1656, and Capt. afterwards. Elizabeth Scottow m. Thomas, son of Major Thomas Savage, and had a large family. Rebecca m. Benjamin Blackman, April 1, 1675, and Mary m. Samuel Checkley.

Capt. Scottow was a very energetic man, an enterprising and eminently prosperous merchant. He was largely engaged in foreign commercial transactions, and from 1654-7 was the confidential agent of La Tour in his business with our colony.

In 1660 Mr. Scottow bought of Abraham Jocelyn, of Blackpoint, two hundred acres of land, including the hill since known as "Scottow's Hill;" and in 1666 he purchased of Henry Jocelyn the "Cammock Patent," which at the granting to Thomas Cammock in 1631 consisted of fifteen hundred acres of land lying between the Blackpoint and Spurwink rivers. Cammock left his entire estate to his friend Henry Jocelyn, with the care of his widow during her life. Jocelyn married the widow Margaret, and some twenty years afterwards conveyed the property as above, together with seven hundred and fifty acres outside the Patent, remaining upon it, however, as agent for Mr. Scottow. Capt. Scottow removed to Blackpoint settlement about 1670, and engaged with great energy in improving his property there, and in his fishing and commercial transactions.

The first mention I have found connecting Capt. Scottow with the Indian war is in the Colonial Records, Vol. 6, p. 57, at the session of the Court convened October 13, 1675, as follows :

Upon the sad intelligence from Saco & the great danger of all those parts, it is ordered, that there be 50 soldiers immediately from Boston & Charles Towne sent away in some vessel or vessells for the reliefe of those parts, and that they be under the command of Leiftenn^t Scottoway, and that Major Clarke take care that this order be effected as to the dispatch of the men, & furnishing ammunition & prouission for the voyage.

The "sad intelligence" was connected with the attack upon Saco, the details of which are in Major Walderne's letter of September 25, 1675, given heretofore ; Robert Nichols and his wife were killed just before this by the Indians who had made an unsuccessful assault upon Major Phillips's garrison at Saco.

But previous to these occurrences, Capt. Scottow had fortified and provisioned his house and gathered into it as many of the people as would come. His garrison was the Jocelyn House on the "Neck," distant from the farms of many of the inhabitants, who reluctantly abandoned their homes, cattle and crops to the ruin which was daily threatened. It seems evident that Capt. Scottow, with the small number of undisciplined men under his command, mostly inhabitants, and those employed by him, was in no capacity to send out a relief party to other parts of the town ; and when the Indians attacked some of these still remaining on their farms, it was plainly imprudent to risk any small party such only as he could have sent, to the almost certain ambushment and destruction, to which the burning, and firing of guns seemed to invite them. His enemies sometime afterwards sought to injure him by bringing charges of neglect to help his neighbors, among other charges preferred against him. The Alger brothers, Andrew and Arthur, had a large estate at that part of Scarborough known as Dunstan, and so named by them for their old English home, and they had there a fortified house, but upon the opening of hostilities evidently withdrew their families into Sheldon's garrison at Blackpoint. When Major Walderne had returned home he left sixty of his soldiers to garrison the different settlements, Saco, Falmouth and Scarborough, and these were distributed according to the need, at Scottow's, Sheldon's and Foxwell's garrison-houses. Capt. John Wincoll was posted at Foxwell's with a company of soldiers, and in October was assisting the settlers to harvest their corn. One of Capt. Wincoll's soldiers, Peter Witham, was detailed to help the Algers get their grain, and said that a few days after, as they with some of their relations were getting their goods from their houses, they were attacked by the Indians, when Andrew was killed and Arthur mortally wounded ; and the said Witham, fifty-three years afterwards, being then seventy-two years old, testi-

fied that he helped to bury both the Algiers. Mr. Hubbard gives the date of the attack upon the Algiers October 9th, 1675.

The events of the war in Scarborough immediately following the above, are shown in the following letter from Capt. Scottow :

Honoured S^r.

After all due submission to y^r self wth the Honoured Councill, these are to declare y^e state of y^e affaires at p^rsent, since y^t sent by Jo: Short o^r men being sent up y^e riv^r to secure those barnes of corne left w^{ch} accordingly they applied y^m selves to doe and to repaire o^r water-mill (being o^r onely relief for grinding) they met wth no opposition nor could have sight for 3 daies of above one Indian upon the 3^d of this curr^t they having finished one mans corne & upon landing of it in canoes 19 of o^r p^rtie being there were assaulted and surrounded by at least 60 or 80 Indians & had bin all cut of had not S^r Tippet come in with his p^rtie to their timous relief who was on y^e other side river to help wheat &c. out of another barne whereupon the enemy retreated into the bushes it being a foggy day could not soe well discerne w^t execution they did upon y^m disinabling one Indian soe as to leave his speare behind him, much firing on both sides, one of us wounded one drowned by hasting into a cano, next day a country souldier of his own accord went downe y^e marsh & hollowed & an Indian came up to him being of Piscataquay & his acquaintance they p^rlied and smok^t a pipe of tobacco together y^e Indian having laid down his gun & he seemingly did y^e same, a small riv^r p^rting y^m.

(y^e larger narrative C. Winkall & myself have sent to Maj^r Walden to be conveyed unto y^e Maj^r Gen^l I refer y^r Honours unto) y^e substance of y^e discourse was they willingly would have peace, & kept 2 women two casco children, foure men prisoners to dd^l up if it might be &c. if not let time and place be appointed & they would fight y^e english & as it was misreported to C. Winkoll & myself they would stay 48 hours for an answer but it seeme it was y^e next day the Indian put his signall next day but none having an order to treat him, o^r men therefore secure the wheat threshed out & a shallop being there to fetch it of they sent none to discourse him, upon w^{ch} they y^e enemy as they had done y^e day before & y^t during the parlee fired stacks of hay and some houses; o^r men y^t afternoon being pinched for want of bread and of victualls, could not be prevailed with by their officers to continue in y^e farne house which they had fortified until further order w^{ch} was designed a retreating place upon fighting y^m though a small rev^r pted y^m & y^e Indians rendezvouze, in order to fighting y^m I had visited y^e next garrison and drawn of w^t I durst to assist o^r soldiers up y^e riv^r, but towards y^e evening understanding o^r mens resolves, sent y^m up bread &c. with an expresse charge not to desert y^e place wthout further order, but it could not come to y^m soe as to hinder their moving downe w^{ch} was upon the 5th day curr^t in the night next morning we designed y^e sending y^m all up as soone as y^e tide would p^rmit, & had ordered all to y^t end but upon y^e sight of theire enemies burning of y^t house w^{ch} they had fortified & of my barne of corne which was left unburnt there wth advice of Cap^l Winkoll & the rest of y^e officers, we altered o^r designe & this day purpose wth all o^r strength to fetch in the inhabitants corne left in their deserted houses, the enemy firing all before y^m in w^{ch} doing an opportunity of fighting y^m may also p^rsent w^{ch} o^r souldiers long for but we want fixed armes

divers of these sent, not servicable & two or three disenabled in o^r last in-
 gagement. please to dispatch o^r supply of flints &c. sent for in my last to
 Maj^r Clark we are in distress for want of y^m, especially bread not having
 but two dayes bread left at a cake a day wth y^e allowance I reduced o^r soul-
 diers unto at first coming, w^{ch} bread is borrowed from fishermen and myself
 we have no grinding nearer than Piscataquay, not else but begging prayers
 and y^t y^e deluge of sin w^{ch} I grieve is among o^r souldiers as well as inhabi-
 tants may be stopped by reason whereof this overflowing scourge pursueth
 us (this place being now y^e seat & center of y^e Eastward war) Casco &
 Kenebec being all quiet & peace as by yesterdies intelligence I understand,
 I humbly subscribe myself

ffrom y^e Head quarters at Blackpoint
 at 3: oclock in y^e morning this 6th
 9^{br} 1675

y^{rs} & y^e Countries
 most humble serv^t

JOSH: SCOTTOW.

(Postscript.)

May it please you to take notice that instead of the 50 designed here are
 but 38 sent div^{rs} of y^m insufficient for service & some soe mutinous that
 we cant with safety inflict y^e punishment they deserve, for the pursueing
 of my comition here is need of 100 men completely armed and bread sent,
 for flesh I hope we have enough. J. S.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 44.

The following letter is evidently in answer to the above from
 Capt. Scottow.

COUNCIL'S LETTER TO CAPT. SCOTTOW.

Capt. Scottow. We received yo^r lett^{er} & saw another sent by you to Maj^r
 Walderne; we pceive y^e Indians do sometimes allarum you and obstruct
 y^e getting in of provisions & corne if such another overture as that Indian
 made y^t met y^e soldier in y^e marsh for a treaty of peace to deliver y^e eng-
 lish prisoners should be made againe wee advise order & som of you there
 to treat wth y^m & see what termes you can come to & Apoint a cessation of
 armes untill their offers may be considered by us & endeavour to procure
 y^e delivery of prisoners & wee will deliver as many of theirs y^t are at
 Boston. peace is better if it can be obtained upon good termes & som
 pledges or hostages given; for security; as for a supply of more men we
 cannot comply wth you therein; wee have so many places to strengthen y^t
 wee cannot doe alle; wee are sure you have as great a proportion as most
 places of y^e like concernement, we here you want neither corne, flesh nor
 fish & so long you be in straits & though yo^r mills ly at a distance yet a
 samp mortar or two will make a supply to pvent any great sufferings as
 for sending of Bisket we dare not give y^t p'sedent, for all other places
 garrisoned by the country soldiers are p'vided for with victualls by y^e peo-
 ple they secure; it is enough for y^e Country to pay wages & find ammuni-
 tion; our armies y^t are in motion require more yⁿ the Country is well able
 to beare especilly yo^r easterne parts are concerned to ease the publicke
 purse what they may because we know of nothing y^t was ever put into it
 from thense. Therefore wee desire you to make the best Improvement
 you can wth the strength you have fo^r your owne deffense & offense of the
 enemy until God send beter times; wee have inclosed the printed laws to
 restrayne mutinous soldiers let y^m be read to y^e soldiers. And notice

taken of y^m y^t transgresse; & if you find yourself too weake to deale wth them let y^e ringleaders bee sent to prison wth evidense of y^e fact; wee have not more at p^{sent} but desire the Lords p^{se}nce blessing & protection to be wth & over you

alle remaine your loving friends

postscript if you find our souldiers any Burden or inconvenience to you you are Authorized hereby to dismisse y^m or any of y^m either thither or to Maj^r Walderne

Past this letter by the councill the 15th of

Endorsed—"Councils letter to Capt. Scottow 16: 9 mo. 1675."

Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 59.

Details of the service from October 25, 1675, to May, 1676, are given in the following Journal which is preserved in manuscript in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The manuscript is evidently a copy, made probably in 1676, when his use of the troops was called in question. This shows that much of the damage done in Scarborough was effected either before he had men or means to prevent it, and afterwards in spite of his best endeavors. These extracts contain the substance of the journal:

EXTRACTS FROM A MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL OF CAPT. SCOTTOW.

Narrative of a Journall of the diverse marches & improvement of Boston souldiers sent to Black Point.

1676.* (8) 25. Siev^r: Serg^t landed 15 men. I disposed 6 of y^m to ffoxwell's garrison at Bluepoint, 6 to Shelden's garrison, and retayned 3 of y^m, received a l^{re} from Major Pendleton and answered it.

26 and 27, no disturbance. I went and viewed the fortifications at the several garrisons, and discharged Mr. ffoxwell from his charge at Bluepoint, being a quarreling, discontented p^{son}.

29, Tho: Michell arrived with 23 soldiers who landed two houres before day.

30, sent y^e 6 scouts up y^e river to discover y^e enemy and view a house w^{ch} y^e enemy ordinarily possessed, returned seeing 3 Indians.

31, that night two hours before day sent up 60 men under the conduct of Capt. Winkall who landed before day to save w^t corne they could of our Inhabit^{ts} & fight y^e enemy if found, they having appeared not long before at ffoxwell's Garrison and shot a scout as appeth pr C. Winkolls l^{rs} No. 2. Answered Maj. Pendleton's l^{re} No. 3.

(9) 1, dispatched a shallop to Boston wth l^{tres} to Hon: Gou^r and council for flints, bread &c.

2, In the afternoon about 29 inhabitants were set upon by 70 or 80 Indians and had almost surrounded y^m had they not been timously relieved by Serg^t Tipping who came to their relief, beat y^m into y^e swamps and gaged an Indian speare.

3, Serg^t Tipping sent down for recruit of powder &c. w^{ch} I sent up by y^e two carpenters and others who were come down I sent up 28 lbs of powder in a box and 90 lbs shot &c. that day there fell out a parlee betweene a country soldier & an Indian.

* This date is plainly a mistake made at the time of copying, in the summer of 1676. The Journal itself was kept in 1675.

Cap^{ne} Winkoll came down y^t night, we gave advice of the whole to Maj. Walden and y^t we intended to fight y^e Indians.

4, they fell firing barnes of neer houses, haystacks and all before y^m. Y^e souldiers having got about 160 bush: wheat and other graine, and a shallop sent to bring it downe they could not be prevailed upon wth all by their Serg^t (as I was informed) to continue any longer being pinched for want of bread by an unworthy planter, though they wanted no flesh.

5, As soon as I heard of their intention I sent up $\frac{1}{4}$ of all the biskit I had with tobacco and rum for their encouragem^t, and an expresse charge to fight y^e enemy as appeth by the witnes of John Libby, Bouden and Howell No. 1 and the order delivered ffoxwell to carry up; but no Cano could be got though I used my utmost indeav^r, they came down about 10 o'clock in the night

6, o^r men went up headed by Cap^{ne} Winkoll to secure what corne of o^r inhabitants was left in the N. East side in the deserted houses, and of barnes, hoping to meet y^e enemy in y^e march, w^{ch} accordingly fell out, dividing themselves into 2 parties one of them was first ingaged by a party of Indians, not above 12 shewing themselves, and the other by about 16, they were engaged also and had 2 skulking skirmishes, beat y^m into y^e swampes. One of the Boston souldiers was mortally wounded in y^e breast. O^r men retreated carrying off their wounded man.

November 7, Being Lord's day, the enemy, early in the morning burnt those houses and barnes our Cap^{ne} saved the day before—they burnt also 8 or 9 deserted houses belonging to Jo: Libby and children. As soon as these fires were discovered all the souldiers and Inhabitants hasted to next garrison which was little above musket shot of them: the tyde being up and spryng tyde the bridge was overflowed which obstructed their passage witness Willet and Tydy &c. As soon as they could pass being headed by Cap^{ne} Winkoll and Topping they scour the round of the towne on the N. East supposing y^e enemy was gone that way to fire those houses they being only left unburnt, they met with no Indians in the march the whole day; met Lieut. Ingersoll and 12 Casco men who came to joyu with our men to search out and fight the Indians—that night there fell a small flight of snow.

8, We staid in our quarter till midnight got 2 shallops.

9, Landed 70 men 3 hours before day at Blue Point to find out y^e enemy, they had a tedious march the whole day through swampes marshes and creeks sometimes to the knees, others to the waist in snow and salt-water—saw some Indian tracts but could find no Indians; Lieut. Ingersoll and all his men returned discouraged home.

10, Our men returned to their quarters.

11, A mysty wet day, no handling arms nor marching.

12, Much wind at N. West, no gitting over rivers, y^e canos on y^e other side imploied to git in Cummins corne of Sacho to Bluepoint.

13, Cap^{ne} Winkoll, Sg^t Tipping and our company got over y^e river and marched to find Indians and drive cattell; the enemy fired two deserted houses at Sacho while o^r men were on this side and bro^t home between 20 and 30 head of Sacho cattell.

14, Sabbath day—no disturbance—bury^d Sam: Ryall wounded a week before. 15, no mocion. 16, marched to drive in cattell, were disappointed by a Quaker who drove them into the woods from us. 17, Indians came—from across y^e water. 18, Cap^{ne} Winkoll and the country souldiers w^{ch} was attending drove cattell for Cummins and Rogers inhabitants of Sacho-

19, drove cattell for Macshawin, inhabitant of Sacho. 20, I received orders from Maj^r Walden to fit out Lieut. Ingersoll to Maj^r Pendleton w^{ch} I wrote to him I was upon doing. 21, No disturbance being Sabbath day. 22, Serg^t Topping and o^r men went to Dunsten to drive in cattell. 23, Lieut Ingersoll came to y^e head quarters with 12 men and wth orders from o^r Major to make them up to 60 or 70.

24, I made up his number to 60 men, supplying them with 8 biskit cake a man of mine own store L^t Ingersoll went up in the night to Blue-point, landed before day with 2 shallopes, marched up the country to the head of Sacho Falls.

25-27, Continued out one night, returned to y^e headquarters and he dismissed our souldiers; L^t Ingersoll returning to Casco; sent me a l^{re}, to send him up 45 souldiers &c. towards his towne of Casco it being alarumed in his absence by one house burning and a man wounded. L^t Ingersoll came himself to our headquarters to demand the p^{ty} he was satisfied with 20 men, and I made up Maj. Pendletons relief 20 w^{ch} were dispatched with all speed—great wind at N. West. 28, Mr Neales house burnt at Casco. 30, Serg^t and his comp^y returned from Casco.

(10) 5, Tho: Michell arrived from Boston with a license to myself to come to Boston, and order to send y^e Boston souldiers home if care was not taken to provide for y^m.

The rest of the Journal gives account of his arrangement to leave home for Boston, taking one half the Boston soldiers with him, and disposing the remainder, numbering nineteen, at various fortified houses where needed: seven at William Sheldon's; six at Mr. Foxwell's; four at Scottow's, being "the Serg^t, Steward, drum and a cooke to provide for them when they should all draw up to their head-quarters." Capt. Scottow sailed with the soldiers, from Blackpoint, on January 8th, and arrived in Boston on the 11th.

He returned to his charge at Blackpoint April 9th, 1676, and a treaty being in progress by Major Walderne, with the Indians, he arranged with his soldiers to go into his woods and cut "palisado pines," for fortifying his garrison house.

There can be no doubt that Capt. Scottow was of great help in promoting the interests and assuring the safety of the people at Blackpoint; and yet he experienced the most bitter hostility and opposition from many of the inhabitants, among whom were some of the most reliable and respectable. Richard Foxwell was doubtless jealous of the large interest and influence which his extensive property gave him, as well as his loyal adhesion to the Massachusetts Court. In common with many others of the early settlers, Foxwell looked upon Scottow as a new comer, who with his Boston ideas and manners came to usurp the rightful position of those who had held the settlement from the beginning; and it is probable that jealousy and envy largely induced the bitter hostility and the very serious charges that were preferred against Capt. Scottow.

No further trouble with the Indians seems to have disturbed Blackpoint until August, 1676. Capt. Scottow busied himself

settling his accounts and strengthening his garrison ; but upon presenting his accounts for settlement by the court, he found that several of his enemies had presented complaints against his management, and a remonstrance against the payment of his accounts, as follows :

PETITION AGAINST CAPT. SCOTTOW.

Wee whose names wee have underwritten, doe declare that we were never in y^e least privie to y^e sending for y^e souldiers which came from Boston to Blackpoint, neither during y^e time of their stay did we in any sort receive advantage by them ; but y^t they were maintained upon y^e acct. of Mr. Scottow : for all the while his fishermen were thereby capacitated to keep at sea for the whole season ; and much worke was done by them which was greattlie turned to his profit ; as removing of a great barn, paving before his house and cutting of Palisado stuff for a pretended fortification where there is no occasion nor need. And many more such courtesies Mr. Scottow (got) by the soldiers. And that other men should pay for his work, done under pretence of defending y^e country, wee hope in behalf of the rest of y^e snufferers in these sad times, you will please to take it into your serious consideration, and heape no more upon us than wee are able to beare, but where the benefit has been received, there order y^e charge to be levied.

Richard Foxwell,	Giles Barge,
Rol: Allanson,	Joseph Oliver,
William Sheldon,	John Cocke,
John Tinney.	

Upon the above representations, several of the prominent men of York county carried the matter to the General Court ; among these Maj. Pendleton, Mr. Munjoy and Mr. Foxwell were the chief complainants, and their complaints were submitted, by the auditors of York County, to the General Court August 9th, 1676 (see Colonial Records, Vol. VI. p. 102). The auditing committee were Nicholas Shapleigh, Edward Rishworth, Samuel Wheelwright.

The complaints were :

1st, That Mr. Scottow got the soldiers from Boston upon his own responsibility.

2nd, That he refused to use or have others use the soldiers to preserve the lives and estates of others.

3d, That he used the soldiers mostly for his own particular security and advantage ; attending and strengthening his garrison, paving his yard, moving his barn, "cleaving" his wood, &c.

A note of Mr. Drake's in his edition (1865) of Mr. Hubbard's history, cites original papers then in his possession, as testimony against Capt. Scottow. The deposition of Michael Edgecombe, aged about 25 years, declares that he was at Blackpoint when the "nine Winter-harbour men were fighting the Indians upon the Sands opposite said Place, and saw sundrie men come to Mr. Scottow importuning that he would send some Ayde over to those poore dis-

tressed men," &c., and that Capt. Scottow, though seeing the English were far outnumbered by the Indians, and must be overcome soon without reliefe, yet would not suffer a man to go to help them; and one John Lux came and reproached the Capt. and offered to take men in his shallop across the river and land them "on shoare in Little River," near where the men were fighting, and where all were found slain next day. This was sworn to before Brian Pendleton, July 20th, 1676. Lux declared that nothing would move Capt. Scottow, although he could see the men being overpowered by greatly outnumbering savages.

Mr. Foxwell also deposed against Capt. Scottow's inhumanity in the affair of the burning of Dunstan, &c. Walter Gendall, who served as Sergt. under Capt. Scottow, and had charge of a body of soldiers at Spurwink in 1675, made a similar deposition.

The Court referred this case to the October session, and then gave judgment, that,

This Court, having heard the complaint of Mr. Rishworth exhibbeted against Captaine Scottow, &c. . . . upon a full hearing of both parties, see no reason for the aforesaid complaint, and doe judge that the said Capt. Scottow (for aught doth appeare) hath faithfully discharged his trust, and is therefore acquitted from the chardge endeavo'd to be put on him, but that the same be borne by the county and that Mr. Rushworth do pay Capt. Scottow his costs and damage. The Court granted and determined the costs to be nine pounds, thirteen shillings & eight pence.

In the evidence favorable to this decision, the following paper, found in the old files of Suffolk County Court, was probably offered :

PETITION OF INHABITANTS OF SCARBOROUGH.

The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of Scarborough. Whereas Mr. Scottow of Boston Stood by us in all our streights and distresses during the late Warr with the Indians and not only encouraged us with his presence from April until January last, but alsoe releived us with a barrell of powder and all sorts of ammunition as it cost him in Boston near to twenty pounds for which he is not yet paid, yea, then when as there was no town Stock nor a pound of powder in the Town that we know of without which supply we and our families must either have been destroyed or our town deserted as Casco and Saco were, we being then for divers months the seat of war and having more houses than one of the Townes and above double the other burnt and consumed: and to keep us together since he hath this Spring helped us with nere two hundred bushells of Indian and other Grain without which some of us could neither have planted nor sowne, some had ben pincht and others might have starved, in all things to our weak understanding he hath carryed it faithfully and carefully to the publicke interest, he being now unjustly and as far as we can deserne maliciously persecuted by some especially one Mr. Foxwell a man noted for contention and whereas there be diverse oaths taken against the s^d Scottow some of them to the knowledge of some of us false, and others covered with fraude and fallacy we being much troubled that for his good he should receive a bill humbly crave that he may have all right and due encouragement and vindication,

and your petitioners shall further humbly pray for your honors peace and prosperity.

Henry Jocelyn	Richard X Willing	Thomas X Wasgate
Ambrose Bouden	Francis X White	John X Makenny
John X Libby, senior,	John X Ficket	Edward X Hounsell
Sam X Oakman	Richard X Bassen	Richard X Barret
John X Libby jun ^r	Richard Moore	Christopher X Picket
Anthony Row	Peter X Hinxen	Thomas Cleverly
Thomas X Bigford	Henry X Elkins	John X Vicars
John Howell	Henry X Brookins	Dunken X Teshmond
William X Champlin	William X Burrage	John X Simson

ADDITIONAL FAVOURABLE TESTIMONY.

These are to testifie before whom it may concern, that M^r. Scottow of Boston, being wth us when — y^e men were killed upon Sacho Sands at the first heering of the guns fired there wth consent of M^r. Josselin gave y^e Alarm all over garrison to y^e whole town, drew up such of us on our armes as were at home, dispatcht our Corporall to call in such as were abroad, as also the said Scottow was very Angry with Mackshawine for saying that Captaine Wincoll and his Company were all cut off, telling him though some might be killed and the rest fled yett it might be to gain y^e advantage of ground as it proved, as also at the same time Scottow searctht the armes and ammunition of us which were drawne up exchanging y^e armes which were insufficient for his owne fixed armes, and that hee supplied every man of all those that were sent forth, and wanted, both with powder, buletts, swan shott, biskett, and a dram of y^e bottle out of his owne store, there not being at the same time one pound of powder in y^e town, that wee know of but what they rec^{ved} from Scottow & that the said Scottow, upon the first alarm enquire whether some of us might not bee sent in a shallop or in Canows to goe to y^e releif of those men, it was answered that they could not be sent with safety neither for the men nor for their armes because of the gulf of y^e sea, the wind blowing ffrsh upon the shore. The said Scottow with the consent of Mr. Henery Josselin, did with as much possible speed as they could, dispatch away about twenty men over our ferry to march by land to the relief of that pty under y^e charge of Serjeant Olliver, yea so many men did they send away that some of us complained against them saying they did not doe well to send out so many of their husbands and children, supposing that if they should have been cutt off wee had not strength left at the garrison sufficient to defend o^{ur}selves if assaulted, Yea, wee doe farther testifie that the said Scottow Acted therein to the utmost of his power soe that when some of the company manifested a backwardness to the relief above in vexation hee through his Kane upon the ground saying he would through up his Commission and never meddle more with it, and alsoe that wee could not answer to god, men, nor our owne consciences unless wee used the utmost of our endeavour to relieve those men, in testimony of the truth of what is above written we have hereunto signed and shall to the substance of the whole depose if called thereunto by lawfull Authority.

Blackpoint, July y^e 15th 1676.

John X Libby Sen ^r	Rich. Willing
Tomas X Bigford	Andrew Browne
Anthony row	ffrancis X White
Thomas Cleverly	Peter X Hinxen
Hen: X Elkins	Henry X Nookins

The p^mises above written, I attest to be truth given under my hand this 18 July 1676

HENRY JOCELYN.

(Mass. Arch., Vol. 69, p. 28.)

During August of 1676, Capt. Scottow was evidently at Boston, leaving the conduct of affairs to Jocelyn and Tippen with Walter Gendal as a third on the "committee of the militia." Serjeant Tippen, who appears to have been a very efficient officer, being called away also, the others found themselves unable to control the inhabitants who were acting as garrison soldiers, and they wrote this letter to Capt. Scottow.

Capt. Joshua Scottow.

We underwritten being of y^e committee with serjeant Tippen, and both of you now being absent, shall desire you to acquaint y^e Governor & Council of y^e averseness of the generality of y^e Inhabitants to obey Military orders; y^t they would be pleased to direct some especial order to such in this town as may bring y^e Inhabitants to y^e obedience of y^e Military Laws of the Government y^t we may be in some capacity to defend ourselves against y^e common enemy; and we shall remain,

Y^r friends to serve you

Black Point, Aug. 9th, 1676.

HENRY JOCELYN,
WALTER GENDALL.

The Blackpoint garrison was recognized by the Indians as the strongest fortification in the Eastern Towns, and it had therefore escaped any assault in the general destruction which fell upon Casco and the Kennebec towns. In the letter of Capt. Hathorne in the last chapter, we find some account of the discontent of the people at Blackpoint and their determination to abandon the garrison and betake themselves to the safer towns to the West. The letter indicates also that Capt. Scottow was there when Capt. Hathorne visited the place, but evidently withdrew soon after; as upon October 12th the Indians appeared at the garrison, a hundred strong, with the chief "Mugg" (or Mog Hekon, Whittier's Mog Megone) at their head; they found the inhabitants all within the fort and Mr. Jocelyn in command. The Indians did not attack, knowing that even a small number could hold it against any assault they could make. Mugg was well acquainted with all the affairs of the English, and immediately sought a parley with Mr. Jocelyn, which lasted a long time. In the meantime all the inhabitants had taken the opportunity to get out of the house and to their boats and away to the Westward towns, —Wells, Portsmouth, &c. How they could have thus effected their escape in the presence of so large a body of the enemy, must be explained by the advantageous position of the garrison, and the over-confidence of the Indians. Mr. Jocelyn and his family were taken with the house and its contents, which was at once surrendered, when Mr. Jocelyn found only his own family left within. Mugg was highly elated with this great and easy success, and Jocelyn was treated kindly, and with his family soon restored to their friends. It is said that he afterwards removed to Plymouth, where he spent the rest of his days. Blackpoint garrison was not destroyed, perhaps because Mugg, in the flush of his success, believed the English would

soon be driven from the country, and this would serve the Indians as a stronghold. The following paper, the original of which is preserved among the papers of the late Mr. Lemuel Shattuck, gives the list of those who were at Blackpoint just before the surrender :

A list of y^e names of y^e Inhabitants at Blackpoint Garrison
Octo : 12th 1676.

In y ^e Garrison.	Daniell Moore	John Ashden
	John Tenney	Johne Warrick
	Henry Brookin	Goodman Luscome
	Nathaniell Willett	Tymothy Collins
	Charles Browne	Andrew Browne, Senior
In y ^e huts w th out y ^e Garrison but Joyning to it.	Edward Hounsell	Andrew Browne
	Hampton and Salsbery	John Browne
	Soldiers	Joseph Browne
	ffrancis Sholet	William Burrage
	Anthony Roe	Ambrose Bouden, Constable
	Thomas Bickford	Tho : Cumming
	Robert Tydey	John Herman
	Richard Moore	Samuell Okeman, Senior
	James Lybbey	Samuell Okeman
	John Lybbey	John Elson
	Anthony Lybbey	Peter Hinson
	Samuell Lybbey	Symond Hinson
	George Taylor	Ric ^d Willin
	James Ogleby	John Symson
	Dunken Chessom	Tho : Cleauerly
Living muskett shott fr. y ^e Garrison.	William Sheildin	John Cocke
	John Vickers	R rd Burrough
	R rd Basson	—
	Ro ^{rt} Elliott	A list of y ^e names of those y ^t were prest by Vertue of Capt. Harthornes order to be for y ^e service of y ^e Garrison of y ^e Inhabitants afforesaid.
	ffrancis White	ffrancis Shealett
	Richard Honywell	Edward Hounslow
	John Howell	James Oglebey
	Ralphe Heison	John Cocke
	Mathew Heyson	Daniell Moore
	Joseph Oliver	Dunken Chessom
Living three muskett shott fr. y ^e Garrison.	Christopher Edgecome	Richard Burrough
	John Edgecome	William Burrage
	Micael Edgecome	
	Robert Edgecome	
	Henry Elkins	

It is probable that the surrender of the fort at Blackpoint was a great surprise to Capt. Scottow, as it was considered by all absolutely secure, and was at the time well supplied and amply garrisoned ; doubtless the cause of the desertion was the long-suppressed discontent of the people, and their panic at the approach of the large body of Indians which their fears magnified to an army. Capt. Scottow did not rest content with his defeat, however, as we see by

the following item at the session of the General Court, October 25, 1676, some twelve days after the disaster.

Whereas Joshua Scottow is now sending forth a smale vessell or two wth company for the discovery of the state of the fort at Black Point, and transport of what may be there recoverable either of his or any of the inhabitants, it is ordered, that the said vessells and persons by him sent shall be & hereby are exempted from impresse upon any of the country^s employ; and Bartholomew Tipping being commended as a fitt person to take the charge of such as are to land, in case he shall judge the place tenable, he shall be & hereby is impowered to impresse the company now sent, and any other of the inhabitants, or any other persons which maybe there found, to looke after plunder or their owne estates, and to defend & keepe the place from the enemy untill further order; and the said Scottow hath liberty to impresse some inhabitants of Black Point who lye latent, he, the said Scottow, carrying it on at his owne charge.

Sometime in November, Mugg having surrendered himself and the Indians having withdrawn, Capt. Scottow regained his fort, and Sergt. Bartholomew Tippet and soldiers, and many of the inhabitants, remained there, and more returned in the Spring. While our eastern towns from Portsmouth to Saco were kept in constant fear by frequent attacks by skulking bands, Blackpoint was not troubled until May 13th, 1677, when a great body of the enemy appeared before the garrison, and at once made a resolute onset upon it, apparently feeling assured of victory. But they had now to deal with a different man than before; Sergt. Bartholomew Tippet was now in command, and conducted a gallant defence during three days, in which time but three of his soldiers were killed; on the 16th the Sergt. himself made a fine shot, by which one of the leaders (supposed, at the time, to be "Simon," but afterwards found to be the celebrated "Mugg") fell, by which loss of their chief they were so disheartened that they withdrew, part towards the Kennebec, the rest towards Piscataqua and York, where they did some injury, of which and their next attack upon Blackpoint, the next chapter, taking up the operations of Capt. Benjamin Swett, will give some account.

Credited under Capt. Scottow.

January 25 1675-6			
Samuel Ryall	01 01 04	William Howard	03 12 00
Daniel Lancton, <i>Corp'l</i>	04 04 00	John Slead	03 12 00
Eben Ingolsby	03 12 00	Benjamin Wardall	03 12 00
George Gregory	03 12 00	Thomas Skellito	03 12 00
Moses Richardson	03 12 00	Thomas Hawes	03 12 00
John Newman	03 12 00	John Newton	03 12 00
Henry Berrisford	03 12 00	Samuel Walker	03 12 00
Roger Jones	03 12 00	Alexander Johnson	03 12 00
		February 19, 1675-6	
Charles Duckworth	03 12 00	Bartholomew Tippin	03 12 00
Andrew Cload	03 12 00	Thomas Barber	02 08 00
Owen Jones	03 12 00	Nathaniel Willet	02 08 00
Thomas Hobson	03 12 00	Edward Milton	02 08 00

Robert Tydye	02 08 00	April 24, 1676	
Ebenezer Winter	02 08 00	Thomas Barber	03 18 00
Peter Odrigoe	02 08 00	Peter Malardino	03 09 04
Samuel Johnuson	02 08 00	June 24, 1676	
John Baker	02 08 00	John Baker	04 16 00
Timothy Cunnell	02 08 00	Bartholomew Tippin	09 09 00
John Lowell	02 08 00	Thomas Barber	02 02 00
Ezekiel Hamlin	02 08 00	Peter Odrego	01 04 00
Peter Mallandy	02 08 00	Francis Sholett	06 00 00
Thomas Maddis	02 08 00	Timothy Conhill	06 00 00
James Ogleby	02 08 00	Nathaniel Willet	06 00 00
James Barber	02 08 00	Edward Milton	02 03 08
Richard Honeywell	02 08 00	James Barber	06 00 00
William Darby	02 08 00	Peter Odrego	05 12 00
Samuel Baker	02 08 00	James Ogleby	06 00 00
		Thomas Maddis	06 06 00
March 24 th 1675-6		William Darby	06 00 00
Samuel Johnuson	02 14 00	Robert Tidy	06 00 00
		Ebenezer Winter	06 06 00

There were doubtless many names credited during the autumn and winter of 1676-7, but the accounts covering that period are now lost. It will be noted, however, that many of the same names appear in this following list from a later book, that are in the former.

July 24, 1677.	Michael Edgecomb	January 1677-8
Edward Cowle	Thos: Cummings	David Middleton
Sam. Libby	Thos: Irons	Andrew Johnson
John Starts	Anthony Libby	February 1677-8
August 1 st 1677	October.	William Milles
Henry Libby	John Courser	Henery Libby
September	Lewis Price	March 1677-8
John Gibson	Andrew Brown	Thos: Bull
Will: Burridg	John Brown	Sam ^l Jordan
Nath ^l Willet	John Augur	Richard Honywell
John Robin	John Lewis	Nathaniell Willitt
John Starts	Thos: Rogers	John Browne
James Ogleby	John Bezoon	Stephen Wolfe
Richard Barrett	November.	Ambross Bowden
Christopher Edgecomb	Edward Hounsel	Michael Edgecombe
Robert Edgecomb	December	John Tinney
Sam ^l Jordan	Job Tooky	Rich ^d Honywell
John Markauy	Joseph Hide	Will: Smith
John Churchill		

In October, 1677, upon the petition of Capt. Scottow and others of his townsmen, all the arms and ammunition then in the fort at Blackpoint were granted them for their proper defence, the same or like amount to be returned upon the order of the Court, and the inhabitants, while engaged in the defence of the garrison, were freed from all country rates.

After the close of the war Capt. Scottow returned and engaged in the development of his estate, and in building up the interests of the settlement. In 1679, he was chosen an Associate for York County. In 1681, the inhabitants at Blackpoint accepted his offer to give the town a hundred acres of land "upon the Plains between Moors Brook and the South East end of the Great Pond," as a site for the building of a fortification for the defence of the town. The land about this fort was to be laid out in lots convenient for the most compact settlement of the people, all of whom were to build upon these and pay to Capt. Scottow one shilling yearly for ever as being their "demesne Lord." The people took hold with a will, and all working together soon erected a very large and strong fortification. Here the people lived, apparently in harmony, until 1686, when, for some reason they declared their agreement with Capt. Scottow "null and void," but at the same time were ready enough to use the protection of his garrison in times of danger; and their opposition to him on this as well as former occasions, is strange from our standpoint, and must probably remain unaccounted for, except for the reasons above noted, and perhaps arbitrary and eccentric manners, of which some intimations may be gathered from the petitions of his friends noted above, as well as from his writings. The people never forgot the old charge of his being the indirect cause of the death of the Nicholsons in 1675; and in 1681 he was accused of the murder of one Nathan Bedford, who was shown at the inquest to have been drowned, and the charge was probably due to the hostility of his enemies. He still held his leading position at Blackpoint until the evacuation in May, 1690, when he retired to Boston where he probably spent the rest of his days. He died January 20th, 1698, aged 83 years. His gravestone was found, October, 1850, in the tower of "The Old South Church," by workmen making repairs upon the wall under the north dial, some fifty feet from the ground. How it came there is not, I believe, yet explained. Another stone, that of William Middleton, died 1699, was found at the same time and place. See REGISTER, *ante*, vol. v. 78. Mr. Sewall, in his Journal, Jan. 21st and 22^d, 1697-8, writes:

"It seems Capt Scottow died last night. Thus the New England men drop away." Jan. 22; "Capt Joshua Scottow is buried in the old burying place: Bearers Major Gen^l Winthrop, Mr. Cook, Col. Hutchinson, Sewall, Sergeant, Walley: Extream Cold. No Minister at Capt. Scottow's Funeral nor wife nor daughter."

Capt. Scottow was the author of two very curious tracts, one in 1691, entitled, "*Old Men's Tears for their own Declensions, mixed with Fears of their and posterities further falling off from New England's Primitive Constitution. Published by some of Boston's Old Planters and some other.*" Another tract, published in 1694, has a title similar in character but too long for

insertion here except the first part, "*A Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony Anno 1628*," &c. Besides these tracts there are many intimations of eccentricity in the character of Mr. Scottow. See "Memoir of Joshua Scottow," by Hon. Hamilton A. Hill, A.M. Also Sibley's "Harvard Graduates."

The accounts of Capt. Scottow for disbursements during the war were still unsettled in 1685, when the amount claimed was over two hundred pounds; the Court that year voted him a grant of five-hundred acres of land in the "Province of Mayne in any free place;" and in 1686, some delay and trouble about this former grant having arisen, he was granted five hundred acres in addition in same place and under the same conditions.

Capt. Scottow left numerous descendants, by his daughters; in his will probated March 3d, 1698, he mentions sixteen grandchildren. Thomas Scottow, only surviving son of the Captain, after graduating at Harvard in 1677, seems to have associated himself with his father; he was Recorder of York County in 1686, and signs as Deputy Register, after that until 1688. In his father's will he is bequeathed a double portion, which, if he dies without issue, shall go to his sister Elizabeth Savage. In Mr. Waters's "Genealogical Gleanings," Part I., page 210, is found Thomas Scottow's will, which declares him to be "of Boston, Chirurgion, now bound forth to sea in the Ship Gerrard of London, Capt. William Dennis, commander, 14 November 1698," proved 4 September, 1699. Gives his sister Elizabeth Savage, of New England, all his real and personal estate in New England. To his "loving friend Margaret Softley of the Parish of St. Paul, Shadwell, in the County of Middlesex, widow," all his goods and chattels and estate in the said ship, and all wages that may be due him for service on the said ship at the time of his death, in satisfaction of what he shall owe her, at his death. He appoints her executrix.

No. XXV.

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN SWETT AND HIS MEN.

JOHN¹ SWETT, admitted freeman of Massachusetts Colony May 18, 1642, was one of the ninety-one freeholders who were declared to be the proprietors of all commons, waste-lands and rivers undisposed of, in the town of Newbury.

CAPT. BENJAMIN² SWETT, son of John,¹ was born in England about 1626; came to Newbury with his father; married there, November, 1647, Hester, daughter of Peter Weare. They settled first in Newbury, and from 1655 to 1662, in company with his brother-in-law Nathaniel Weare, he carried on the farm of Mr. John Woodbridge of Newbury. His children, born in Newbury, were Hester,² 7 June, 1648, m. Abin Greene, 1668; Sarah,² 7 November, 1650, m. Morris Hobbs, 1678; Mary,² 7 January, 1652, died soon; Mary,² 2 May, 1654; Benjamin,² 5 August, 1656; Joseph,² 21 January, 1659; Moses,² 16 September, 1661. And in Hampton, whither he removed about 1663, were born, Hannah,² 16 May, 1664; Elizabeth,² 2 July, 1667; John,² 17 May, 1670; Stephen,² 13 September, 1672; and perhaps another.

Capt. Swett was active and energetic. He was early chosen to fill places of trust in town and county. But he was inclined to military exercises, and was chosen Ensign of the military company in Newbury as early as 1651.

After removing to Hampton, he became prominent and influential in both civil and military affairs in Norfolk County; and in the well preserved and finely written document (Mass. Archives, Vol. 67, p. 57), presented to the General Court, May 31, 1671, remonstrating against the Court's appointment of Robert Pike, as Sergeant-Major of Norfolk County, instead of leaving the choice to the people, we doubtless see Capt. Swett's elegant handwriting; and he seems to be the recognized leader among the prominent men of the various towns of Norfolk.

In 1675 he held the rank of Lieutenant, and is mentioned thus by Mr. Hubbard, as marching up with a small company into the woods

to recover the body of Goodman Robinson of Exeter, killed by the Indians. And the first official notice I have found is the order of Council, January 17, 1675-6, mentioned heretofore, showing that he was in charge of recruits then being sent out to Narraganset. February 1, 1675-6, the Council by special order granted him three pounds for the time he had been in the service; this was probably for his services in recruiting. February 29, 1675-6, he was credited under Capt. Gardiner with £3. 00s. 00d. on the treasurer's book, possibly the same item.

More than half the men credited under him assigned their credits to the town of Haverhill, and I find were nearly all inhabitants of that town. The service for which these credits are given was probably rendered in the spring of 1676, upon the frontier towns of Essex County. Capt. Swett was then engaged at home, and was in command of the military at Hampton and vicinity until the next year, when he was called into the public service at the Eastward, which the following Order and Commission of the Council will explain :

Ordered that Leiftenant Benjamin Swett have a Commission for a Captains place & that he be the Conduct & chiefe of Commanders of the English & Indian forces now rayسد & to Goe forth on the Service of the Country ag^t the Eastern Indian Ennemy as also to order and dispose of the masters & marines & vessels now Going to said service for the better management of that affayre.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 69, p. 132.

CAPT. SWETT'S COMMISSION.

Capt. Swett, You are ordered with the forces now rayسد & by your Commission put under your Command to repayr to Blackpoynt & there use all possible diligence by searching & otherwise to understand the state & motions of the enemy & with your force to assayle & annoy them as much as in you lyeth. If y^e Headquarters of the Enemy by advice of Major Clark & those upon the place be possible to be assaulted you are ordered to march thither with all your force; if any other small quarter of the enemy lye near & your force be in any Measure Capable in a short time to visit and fall upon them you are accordingly with all y^e force Indians & English to make your march thither & assalt them; if otherwise no service against the enemy offer advising with Major Clark to whom the Councill doth refer you for advice, you shall with your whole force march down towards Pascataq, on the Backside of winter Harbor, Wels, york &c, if possible to discover the lurking places of y^e enemy & fall upon them after which you shall supply, out of your company y^e places of y^e old garrison soldiers which went out under C. Swayne or other dismissing them home & lodge y^e remayners in most convenient and necessary places for the Countryes Service & in such Companies that upon prime exigent or order you may call y^m again forth on further excursion or expedition keeping good correspondence giving account to ye Governor & Council of all occurrences.

Dated at Charlestown y^e 22^d of June, 1677
pr. Council. E. R. S^r.

To be released, Sam^l. Clark, Isaak How, W^m. Hopkins, W^m. Stanley, Moses Whitney.

This final service of Capt. Swett is best told by Mr. Hubbard, the historian of the war, who, after telling of the late depredations which had been made at York, Wells and Hampton, where Edward Colecord, Jr., and three others (probably Abraham Perkins, Jr., Benjamin Hilliard and Caleb Towle) were killed, continues :

The Indians thus making daily Inroads upon these weak, unfenced places, the Governor and Council resolved to raise new Forces, and having had good Experience of the Faithfulness and Valor of the Christian Indians about Natick, armed two hundred of them and sent them together with forty English, to prosecute the Quarrel against those Eastward Indians to the full ; but not judging aright of the Number of the Enemy, they much underdid their Business, for besides that the Number they sent of the English was a great deal too small, those that were chosen this Bout to take their Turns in the Service Abroad, were many of them young, raw, and unexperienced Soldiers, who were not able to look Danger, much less Death, in the Face, in cool Blood, by which means it came to pass that the Enterprise succeeded so ill ; for Captain Swett with Lieutenant Richardson, that was sent with him to command the friendly Indians, coming to Black Point, June 28th, he began to try the Valor and Courage of his Company before he had disciplined them, or had any Experience of their Ability to fight. The very next morning after he had landed his men, understanding by his Scouts that many of the Enemies were up and down upon the Place, he made too much Haste to fall upon them, and not mistrusting their Number, while he was marching up the Edge of an Hill with one Party, and his Lieutenant with another, the Indians, that had hid themselves in the Swamp on each Side of the Hill, suddenly fired upon the English on both Sides, which not a little discouraged his young and undisciplined Company, so as they could not, or did not keep their Ranks, but while some were ready to run and shift for themselves, the Captain strived to keep them together, to bring off the dead and wounded men, so long that he brought himself and all the Company in Danger of an utter Overthrow, which soon after took place ; for the poor unskilful Soldiers, being scattered, were shifting for themselves, while a few resolute Men of Courage bore the Brunt of the Service till they were in a Manner all knocked down. The Lieutenant was killed soon after the first Onset ; the Captain having received near twenty Wounds, yet still held out defending and encouraging his Men, till he was surrounded with more of his enemies than he was able to grapple with, and so was at the last barbarously murdered by them within a little of the Garrison-house. There were slain at this Time somewhat above forty of the English, and twelve of the friendly Indians that assisted, very few escaping but were either killed right out or dangerously wounded.

It is to be regretted that the names of very few of all who fell in this disastrous encounter have been preserved. Besides Capt. Swett and Lieut. Richardson, the records of Andover give the names of four who went from that town who were killed, John Parker, James Parker, John Phelps and Daniel Blanchard ; no papers appear in the Archives throwing any further light upon the matter, and I have not been able to find any further names elsewhere. The accounts of the treasurer covering this period are lost. It seems from all available references that about ninety English and Indians, under Capt Swett

and Lieut. James Richardson, were engaged in the fight at Blackpoint; but the number of Indians given by Mr. Hubbard as in the expedition is not confirmed by other evidence.

In Major Daniel Gookin's "History of the Christian Indians," he says:

In June, 1677, another expedition into the Eastern parts, among whom were about 36 of our Christian Indians, who were in a fight near Blackpoint; the English lost about forty men whereof were eight of our friendly Indians, the greatest loss our [Christian] Indians sustained all the war.

This seems to imply that the eight Indians are a part of the forty that were slain, and also that but thirty-six Indians were in the command.

The instructions given in making up the force of his Lieutenant also give additional light.

Order of the Council, June 15th, 1677.

It is referred to Major Gookin forthwith to Supply Lieft. Richardson & his p^{ty} at Chelmsford with provision Ammunition & app^l necessary & to order him to scout & range y^e woods between Merrimack & Pascatawq River & endeavour to kill and sease y^e Lurking enemy in those parts for w^{ch} the Major is ordered to encourage y^m wth a reward of twenty shillings for every scalpe & forty shillings for every prisoner or y^e prisoner. And also to make up in number 25 men, & to order y^m after some time spent there, to m^{ch} to Blackpoint garison & Their to bee at y^e ordering of Lifenant Tipping until further order from the Council the time of Randevous at Blackpoint is to bee the 26 of this Instant June if possible.

Past. EDW^d RAWSON, Secretary.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 69, p. 129.

If these instructions were carried out, Lieut. Richardson and his Indians from Chelmsford marched overland to Blackpoint, and evidently arrived there before the hostile Indians had come from the Kennebec and Androscoggin. The vessels were a day behind the appointed time in arriving. In making up his force for scouting the woods from Blackpoint to Saco, and in the vicinity, Capt. Swett had no thought of the large numbers of the enemy that were actually near them; so that when he had drawn out his English to the number of forty, and his Lieutenant's force of thirty-six, and some of the Blackpoint men of Sergt. Tippen's command joined, he mustered in all a company of ninety. It is said that a large decoy body of the enemy showed themselves and succeeded in drawing both the commands into an ambush contrived with their usual cunning, and blindly walked into, in the usual manner of the English from the first; and the story of "Bloody-Brook," "Beers Plain," "Brookfield" and "Sudbury," is again repeated, and the simple old Indian device of decoy and ambush again overwhelms our forces and sends dismay through all the colonies. But the Indians never risked a battle on any other chance; and if their device had not succeeded here, would doubtless have disappeared, and the report would have been

that our forces "could not come up with them." As it was, the Indians made no further attempt at that time, and probably suffered severely in the running fight, of which no details have been handed down. The Indians withdrew at the time, but in July following began the depredations upon the fishermen along the Eastern coast, and by midsummer had captured no less than thirteen vessels from Salem alone. They soon abandoned this enterprise, however, as they could not manage any craft that could not be worked with paddles. About this time, Gov. Andros, of New York, interfered, and sent a vessel with a force to Pemaquid and vicinity and effected a cessation of hostilities.

Lieut. James Richardson was first of Woburn, but in 1659 removed to Chelmsford, and there married, November 28, 1660, Bridget Henchman, daughter of Thomas, and by her had eight children or more. He was with Capt. Wheeler in the defence of Brookfield, and with Simon Davis, of Concord, and John Fiske was appointed by the Captain, who was disabled by his wounds, to manage the defence. He was afterwards active in the war; removed to Charlestown, May 1, 1676, and served as Lieutenant with Capt. Samuel Hunting in his mixed English and Indian company in the summer and fall of that year at Pawtucket Falls (now Lowell), where they built a fortification and maintained a garrison, of which Lieut. Richardson was left in charge as well as of the Christian Indians at Chelmsford. He was well acquainted with Indian ways, and had great influence with them.

Credited under Lieut. Benjamin Swett,

June 24 th , 1676.			
Thomas Hartshorn	00 12 00	Joseph Bond	00 13 06
Samuel Hutchins	02 04 06	James Smith	05 08 00
Nathaniel Hazeltine	01 00 06	Denis Sihy	04 01 00
Samuel Aires	00 08 06	John Cann	02 14 00
John Keizer	00 08 06	Benjamin Allin	02 00 10
John Clement	00 08 06	John Winslow	02 14 10
Philip Esman	00 15 04	Benjamin Dyer	02 14 00
Benjamin Singleterry	00 15 04	John Coarser	02 14 00
Thomas Durston	00 17 10	John Hicks	01 00 06
Thomas Eastman	01 04 00	John Plimpton	02 14 00
Thomas Allin	01 17 06	John Ross	02 14 00
Henry Kemball	01 09 04	William Burt	00 09 04
Benjamin Greely	01 00 06	John Norton	02 07 00
Jonathan Henrick	00 15 04	Rich. Hawkins	02 14 10
John Corly	00 15 04	John Veales	02 01 00
John Roby	00 08 06	William Philips	02 14 00
Thomas Kingsby	02 04 04	James Franklin	02 14 00
Robert Swan	01 04 00	Thomas Davis	02 14 00
John Hazletine	01 04 00	Samuel Davis	03 03 00
Samuel Watts	00 13 06	James Wamsly	02 14 00
		Francis Burges	02 14 00

It will be noticed that the above credits are given a year before this final service, for which I have not as yet found any credit anywhere recorded.

No. XXVI.

CREDITED WITH MILITARY SERVICE AT THE VARIOUS GARRISONS.

OF the many garrisons occupied by the English during the war, the importance varied according to the movements of the army. Marlborough, for instance, was, during the most of the war, a rendezvous and general headquarters, and thus it was necessary to devote an entire chapter to that, and the operations thereabout. Mendon, Brookfield, Hadley, Northampton and several others later, like Scarborough and Wells, became prominent by their position as frontiers, or as supply and recruiting stations. It will be understood that these items of credit occur in the Treasurer's book mixed with other credits under the various officers, &c., and not consecutively, as presented here. These garrisons are arranged alphabetically by names of places, for the convenience of the reader; and for the same reason, two lists already published in these papers are reprinted here.

AT THE GARRISON AT BILLERICA.

November 30, 1675.

John Boyd	03 00 00	Joseph Dowse	02 14 00
James Poply	03 00 00	William Chapman	03 06 00
Thomas Welch	02 14 00	David Jones	03 00 00

December 20, 1675.

John Gale	03 01 08	James Smith	00 07 00
John Essery	03 06 00	Daniel Caldwin	03 00 00
Joseph Dowse	00 07 08	John Fisk	03 06 00
Joseph Low	03 01 08	Richard Satell	03 12 00
James Poply	00 06 00	Stephen Coolidg	03 06 00
John Boyde	00 06 00	Richard Livermore	02 14 00
James Barnard	03 01 08		

January 25, 165-6.

Humphry Millard	03 18 00	Stephen Coolidg	02 01 00
Daniel Baldwin	01 19 04		

April 24, 1876.

Francis Wainwright 01 04 00

June 24, 1876.

Howell Davis 02 11 04

July 24, 1876.

Richard Sautill 00 19 08 John Fisk 01 06 06

Francis Nichols 04 16 00 Edward Bishop 00 06 00

William Chapman 01 10 00 Ephraim Jones 05 14 00

August 24, 1876.

Francis Bond 06 11 00 George Wyatt 05 14 00

September 23, 1876.

Francis Wainwright 06 12 00

AT THE GARRISON AT BROOKFIELD, OR "QUABAUG."

February 29, 1875-6.

John Weld 00 08 06

June 24, 1876.

John Rayman 01 00 00 John Norton 01 09 00

James Kelling 05 01 00 John Mansell 01 18 00

Ezekiel Levett 01 04 00

July 24, 1876.

Joseph Hide 01 00 06 John Algar 03 02 06

Isaac Perkins 01 01 04 Thomas Stacie 01 12 00

George Norton 00 06 04 Silvester Haies 04 10 00

Nicholas Rawlins 00 07 00 John Simple 03 02 06

Benjamin Dunnage 00 04 03 John Glide 05 08 00

John Axtsell 01 08 00 Benjamin Bucknall 04 15 00

Benjamin Dunnage 01 04 00 Epliraime Savage Lt. 04 07 09

Thomas Scott 01 04 00 Christopher Cole 03 02 06

Thomas Cooper 05 00 00 Charles Blinco 04 13 00

Thomas Philips 05 03 06 John Mansell 01 10 00

Joseph Garfell 00 17 00 Nathaniel Partridge 05 08 00

Benjamin Pickerin 04 10 00 John Sargent 03 02 06

Charles Duckworth 03 15 00 John Cromwell 02 09 09

John Cromwell 03 15 03 Charles Duckworth 02 09 06

John Norton 01 12 06 Edward Blancher 05 10 00

William Bodkin 04 12 06 David Crouch 02 06 02

John Jeffery 04 19 04 David Jones 07 06 06

Joseph Swady 04 12 06 Philip Sandy 05 08 00

Ebenezer Engelsbee 04 12 06 Thomas Phillips 00 18 00

Henry Pellington 05 07 00 John Cutler 05 09 08

AT THE GARRISON AT CHELMSFORD.

November 20, 1875.

Moses Cleaveland 02 12 08 Samuel Parris 02 12 08

November 30, 1675.

Zachariah Shedd	03 00 00	Joseph Simons	03 00 00
John Ellis	04 10 00	John Roby	01 04 00
Richard Nevers	03 00 00	John George	04 16 00
Joseph Samson	04 10 00	Hopewell Davis	04 16 00
Thomas Sawin	03 00 00	William Fisher	04 16 00
Thomas Train	03 00 00	Henry Harris	04 16 00

December 20, 1675.

Francis Nichols	02 11 04	Thomas Estman	01 04 00
Hezekiah Pilsbury	01 04 00	Richard Beach	03 08 06
Joseph Estman	01 04 00	William Foster	00 06 00
John Martin	01 04 00	Henry Harris	00 06 00
Benjamin Allin	01 04 00	Joseph Lamson	00 12 00
Amos Singlater	01 04 00	Hopewell Davis	00 06 00
Nathaniel Ladd	01 04 00		

January 25, 1675-6.

John Bear	00 09 04	John Eliot	01 17 08
John Darling	00 09 04	Joseph Simons	01 15 02
George Wyatt	00 09 04	John Salendine	02 14 00
Samuel Parry	01 00 06	Arthure Crouch	02 14 00
Robert Shelston	02 09 08	William Ballard	02 08 00
Walter Davis	00 09 04	Moses Cleaveland	00 06 00
Thomas Wenmore	00 09 04	Richard Nevers	02 08 00
Benjamin Lernet	04 16 00	John George	02 04 06
Moses Cleaveland	02 08 10	Thomas Train	02 08 00

February 29, 1675-6.

John Welch	00 07 08	Ephraim Matson	01 04 00
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March 24, 1675-6.

Thomas Henschman	01 10 00	Joseph Parker Jun ^r .	00 12 00
Joseph Parker Sen ^r .	00 12 00		

June 24, 1676.

Daniel Woodward	03 08 06	Robert Parker	00 10 00
Josiah Clarson	03 16 02	Nathaniel Graves Capt.	12 01 00
Henry Harris	03 12 10	Timothy Day	04 16 00
Samuel Cleveland	03 07 08	George Stedman	02 12 02
John Clark	03 12 00	John Polly	02 18 00
Henry Sparkes	03 12 00	George Parson	01 16 00
John Mirecke	03 13 08		

July 24, 1676.

John Solinden	06 12 00	John Priest	05 02 00
William Fisher	06 12 00	George Sowder	04 03 00
Arthure Crouch	06 12 00	Samuel Damman	03 10 00
John George	06 12 00	Suball Stearnes	03 05 00
Thomas Traine	06 12 00	Samuel Heberd	04 00 06
Samuel French	03 08 06	George Person	04 00 06
John Elliot	03 18 00	Alexander Alhort	02 10 06

August 24, 1676.

Nicholas Lunn	03 10 00	Henry Harris	03 00 10
John Mirick	06 00 00	Samuel Perry	03 18 00
John Barbene	06 13 08	John Polly	00 18 10
Joseph Simons	03 18 00	John Barbene	05 04 06

September 23, 1676.

John Priest	02 08 00	John Bateman	07 11 00
William Peirce	07 12 06		

"AT DEDHAM."

July 24, 1676.

David Falkner Sen ^r .	04 09 06	David Falkner Jun ^r .	03 03 06
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September 23, 1675.

Andrew Lewis	02 14 00
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AT BLACKPOYNT.

July 24, 1676.

John Lowell	06 02 06	Ezekiell Hamlin	06 00 00
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August 24, 1676.

Edward Milton	03 05 02
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AT THE GARRISON AT DUNSTABLE.

January 25, 1675-6.

Anthony Baker	06 15 04
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February 29, 1675-6.

John Cary	03 03 04
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June 24, 1676.

Samuel Selsby	01 04 00	Jonathan Crisp	02 07 00
John Cary	05 12 02	James Mathews	03 18 00
John Maloone	08 15 08	Thomas Webb	05 10 00

August 24, 1676.

Robert Parris	04 12 06	Abraham Parker	04 12 06
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September 23, 1676.

John Maloone	02 18 00	James Carr	02 14 00
Robert Parris	04 12 06	John Barnard	02 14 00
Abraham Parker	04 12 06	Ephraim Sawney	02 14 00

AT THE GARRISON AT GROTON.

November 9, 1675.

Samuel Read	01 16 00	John Largin	02 04 06
John Bush	03 07 08	Timothy Forgley	02 02 00
Samuell Bull	02 04 06	Samuel Whitney	00 04 04

November 30, 1675.

Thomas Chamberlain	02 09 08	William Gill	03 07 08
Jeremiah Morse	02 02 00	John Hawes	01 10 00
Thomas Bancroft	00 10 00	Onesiphorus Stanly	03 05 02
John Wood	01 13 04	John Dammon	03 01 08
Josiah Wheeler	02 12 02	Daniel Starling	03 03 04
Hugh Taylor	03 01 08	Jonathan Sprague	03 00 00
Jacob Dane	03 00 00	Thomas Dunnell	03 00 00
David Church	04 10 00	Jacob Winslow	03 06 00
Shuball Sternes	03 00 00	Pelataiah Smith	03 00 00
Thomas Wood	03 01 08	Thomas Micheson	03 05 02

December 20, 1675.

John Codington	01 15 02	Daniel Canada	04 10 00
Jonathan Parker	03 08 00	Nathaniel Domton	03 00 00
Ephraim Bemish	03 08 04	Sebread Taylor	03 00 00
Timothy Frogly	01 16 00	Thomas Frost	03 12 00
John Tedd	03 06 00	Samuel Allin	03 09 04
Samuel Hagar	03 06 00	William Doule	03 00 00
Israel Hill	02 06 02	William Halford	03 18 00

January 25, 1675-6.

Benjamin Simons	02 08 00	Simon Stone	03 18 00
Lot Johnson	03 00 00	Samuel Hager	00 18 00
Samuel Bull	02 02 00	Ephraim Bemis	00 12 00
Samuel Cleaveland	02 08 00	Subaell Stearnes	01 10 00
Daniel Canada	00 18 00	Thomas Frost	00 07 08
Jacob Dane	00 18 00	Timothy Frogly	00 07 08
Jeremiah Moss	00 06 00	David Church	01 06 06

*February 29, 1675-6.***"UNDER CAPT. WHEELER AND AT GROTON GARRISON."**

Nath Hill	01 12 10	Samuel Fletcher Jun ^r	01 12 10
Jonathan Hill	01 12 10	Eleazer Brown	01 19 04
Joseph Foster	01 12 10	Cyprian Stevens	00 14 03
John Waldo	01 12 10	Benjamin Graves	01 19 04
Francis Dudley	01 12 10	John Bates	01 12 10
Samuel Fletcher Sen ^r	01 04 05	Stephen Goble	01 12 10

April 24, 1676.

Thomas Foster	03 00 00	Jonath Crisp	02 10 06
Eleazer Ball	00 06 00	Daniel Adams	00 06 10

June 24, 1676.

Zachary Crisp	02 15 08	John Hands	01 06 06
Mathias Smith	01 06 06	Morris Truelove	01 06 06
Nathaniel Green	01 12 06	Joseph Pollard	01 11 00
William Clough	01 06 06	Moses Wheat	02 08 00
John Goff	01 11 00	Humphry Millard	00 06 10
James Chever	01 11 00	Thomas Region	02 14 00
Edmund Gage	01 06 06	Timothy Cutler	02 08 08
William Bordman	01 02 03	Richard Griffith	01 16 10
Benjamin Graves	01 10 00		

July 24, 1676.

Richard Pasmore	04 04 00	John Potter	01 04 00
John Bush	01 02 00	Symon Willard	01 19 00

AT THE GARRISON AT HADLEY.

June 24, 1676.

Benjamin Chamberlain	06 12 00
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July 24, 1676.

John Chub	08 12 02	Joseph Smith	12 03 04
John Records	09 00 00	Philip Kertland	03 17 00
Joshuah Phillips	13 04 00	Thomas Chard	05 17 00
Isaiah Toy	05 11 00	John Upham	12 06 00
Tryall Newberry	14 08 00	John Chamberlain	13 06 00

August 24, 1676.

Jacob Hewens	07 05 04	Ephraim Regiment	07 09 02
Thomas North	10 16 00	John Hadlock	11 04 00
Benjamin Poole	09 18 00	Thomas Staines	04 10 04
Robert Coates	09 14 06	John Largin	04 00 00
Nicholas Dourell	08 02 00		

September 23, 1676.

Thomas Bryant	13 10 00	Jeremiah Clothar	12 06 00
Richard Snowden	10 16 00	Benjamin Lathropp	03 18 00
John Strabridg	02 00 00	Hugh Pike	14 11 00
Joseph Griffin	07 16 00	John Trickey	06 00 00
Robert Bardell	16 07 00	John Fisher	08 06 00
James Moul	11 07 00	William Chub	06 04 00
Thomas Pore	13 16 00	Joseph Hovey	00 08 06
John Whitteridge	11 08 00	Moses Dndee	04 04 00
Stephen Grover	14 07 00	Henry White	14 14 00
Moses Morgan	05 13 00	Thomas Jones	14 12 00
John Prat	16 16 00	John Bill	11 15 00
James Verin	08 08 00	Archebell Forest	05 18 00

"AT HATFIELD."

July 24, 1676.

William Batt	03 00 00
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September 23, 1676.

Robert Dawes	08 18 00	Jabez Musgrove	14 12 00
Edward Bishop	06 17 00	Richard Smith	14 15 00

AT LANCASTER GARRISON.

October 19, 1675.

Peter Jennings	00 18 00	Thomas Wenmon	01 04 00
Joseph French	01 03 03	Richard Grotis	01 04 00
Walter Davis	00 18 00	Thomas Whitney	01 10 00
John Nash	01 04 00	Henry Elliott	03 00 00
George Wiatt	01 04 00	Joseph Birch	00 06 00
Edward Young	01 04 00		

November 30, 1675.

Michael Berstow	01 16 00	John Beare	01 16 00
Stephen Parker	01 14 02	Munnings Sawyer	01 16 00
Palsgrave Wellington	01 16 00	George Wyatt	01 04 00
Henry Salter	01 16 00		

December 20, 1675.

Thomas Wenmon	01 16 00	Peter Jennings	01 16 00
Walter Davis	01 16 00	Thomas Whitney	01 16 00

January 25, 1675-6.

John Roberts	03 01 08	Francis Nichols	01 10 00
Stephen Fish	03 00 00	Thomas Woods	00 18 00
Nathaniel Hadlock	03 01 08	Walter Davis	01 03 02
John Fitch	03 01 08	Henry Salter	01 08 02
John Stanwood	03 01 08	Munning Sawen	01 15 02
Zacharia Eyres	03 01 08	Palsgrave Willington	01 15 02
Stephen Parker	03 01 08	Michael Bairstow	00 19 08

February 29, 1675-6.

Francis Nichols	00 18 00	Edward Young	01 18 06
Thomas Marble	01 18 06	John Nash	01 18 06

April 24, 1676.

William Pashle	04 16 00
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June 24, 1676.

Henry Sparkes	01 16 10
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AT THE GARRISON OF MARLBROW.

September 21, 1675.

Darby Morris	01 13 04	Thomas Owen	04 13 04
John Dunster	02 00 00	Joseph Barber	02 14 00
William Turner	01 19 04		

October 19, 1675.

James Cheevers	02 14 00	Henry Gibbs	03 07 00
Thomas Turner	02 12 02	Richard Roberts	04 04 00
William Blockwell	03 02 06		

November 30, 1675.

Timothy Laskin	04 13 04	Jacob Adams	04 13 04
William Ferman	02 08 00	Jonathan Jackson	04 13 04
Samuel French	03 00 00	Daniel Wright	04 13 04
Richard Young	03 12 00	John Figg	01 10 00
David Roff	03 02 00	John Broughton	02 12 02

January 25, 1675-6.

John Baker	03 08 06	Daniel Davison,	
Richard Young	03 06 00	“Commiss.”	05 06 00
Henry Gibbs	02 19 00	Jonathan Orris	03 12 00
John Nash	00 18 00	Richard Roberts	02 16 06
Jonathan Jackson	01 05 08	William Turner	04 16 00
Obadiah Searle	06 08 00		

February 29, 1765-6.

Robert Rownden	07 04 00	William Farman	03 17 00
Thomas Owen	02 18 02	Gustin John	01 19 04

March 24, 1675-6.

Richard Young	00 13 00		
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April 24, 1676.

Thomas Hopkins	00 09 00	Benjamin Parmater	02 03 08
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June 24, 1676.

Daniel Wright	02 09 08	Thomas Dennis	01 05 06
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July 24, 1676.

Timothy Laskin	02 09 08	John Burges	03 00 10
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September 23, 1676.

Morgan Jones	08 02 00	Joseph Davis	06 00 00
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AT THE GARRISON AT MEDFIELD.

April 24, 1676.

Thomas Davis	02 02 00	John Howell	02 02 00
Humphrey Richards	01 16 00		

June 24, 1676.

Clement Maxfield	00 18 00	Thomas Sherman	02 11 04
James Parker	02 08 00	Elisha Hollaway	05 04 06
Thomas Davis	01 15 00	Charles Cohon	03 18 10
Vincent Shuttleworth	02 11 04	Thomas Jones	03 04 02

July 24, 1676.

James Harrington	02 11 04	Edward Goose	02 16 06
Charles Cahan	01 10 00	John Belcher	00 10 02
James Parker	01 10 10	Darby Morris	03 03 00
Moses Hubbard	00 18 00	Samuel Smith	03 06 00

August 24, 1676.

Samuel Procter	01 08 00	Anthony Hancock	06 13 08
Alexander Mackenny	02 02 00	Samuel Smith	01 17 08

September 23, 1676.

Daniel Meginny	00 18 00	John Richardson	04 04 00
Thomas Sherrard	00 12 00	Israel Hill	02 14 10
Edward Goose	01 16 10	James Marshall	02 05 04
Darby Morris	01 17 08	Vincent Shuttleworth	02 01 00
James Harrington	02 12 02		

AT THE GARRISON AT MENDAM (MENDON).

September 14, 1675.

John Harrison, Serg ^t	02 06 06	David Landon	00 18 00
Henry Tite	01 10 10	Thomas Hansett	01 03 00

October 19, 1675.

Jonathan Dunning	01 00 06	Thomas Plinly	00 11 00
John Tuckerman	02 12 03	Henry Pettington	
Samuel Moore	03 02 06	(Pellington)	01 12 06
Joseph Griffin	02 04 06	John Starr	00 11 00
John Gosse	00 11 00	Edward Barton	05 02 06

December 20, 1675.

William Bosway	04 14 02	John Andrews	04 11 06
Jonathan Dunning	04 04 00	John Sawen	00 10 00
John Roulstone	04 04 00	Simon Stone	00 10 00
William Jaques	04 16 00	John Stearnes	00 10 00
Richard House	05 06 10	John Willington	00 10 00
Richard Godfrey	02 02 10	Samuel Goff	00 12 00
Jonathan Torry	01 14 02	John Gepson	00 10 00
Thomas Beedle	02 02 10	Samuel Thacher	00 10 00
John Weld	01 10 00	Stephen Cooke	00 10 00
Thomas Hanchat	01 13 04	Thomas Browne	00 10 00
Israel Leavitt	02 08 00	James Waumesly	01 07 04
Brian Morphy	02 08 00	John Long	00 10 00
Joseph Griffin	04 07 00	Thomas Crassell	00 10 00
Gilbert Foresight	04 01 00	John Ellis	05 06 03

January 25, 1675-6.

Thomas Andrews	04 04 00	John Low	02 02 10
Henry Pellington	04 04 00	Theophilus Cushing	02 02 10
Thomas Jones	00 13 04	William Cole	01 16 00
Thomas Brideltine	00 18 00		

February 29, 1675-6.

William Cole	01 10 00	John Tuckerman	00 06 00
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June 24, 1676.

John Roulstone	01 10 00	Benjamin Dyer	00 12 00
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AT THE GARRISON AT NORTHAMPTON.

September 23, 1676.

Samuel Souch	14 11 00	John Rowston	08 13 00
Philip Matoon	08 02 00	Samuel Tiley	08 02 00
William Halford	10 16 00	John Roberts	08 19 06

AT PUNCKAPAUGE.

March 24, 1675-6.

John Paison	00 13 00
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April 24, 1676.

James Pemerton	00 09 03	Joseph Holmes	00 09 00
John Clark	00 09 03	Thomas Swift	00 15 00
Samuel Trescott	00 09 00	Robert Braine	00 09 00
Joseph Adams	00 09 00	Thomas Holman	00 13 00
John Basse	00 09 00	John Winchester	00 09 00
Joseph Long	00 09 00	Stephen Gulliver	00 09 00
John Spurr	00 09 00	Samuel Wadsworth	01 16 00

Benjamin Badcock	00 09 00	John Daniel	00 09 00
Robert Parker	00 09 00	Henry Roberts	00 09 00
George Witty	00 09 00	Samuel Clap	00 12 00
Samuel Maxfield	00 09 00	George Lyon	00 09 00
Clement Maxfield	00 09 00	Samuel Picher	00 09 00
Samuel Gulliver	00 13 00	Thomas Lawrence	00 09 00
Jeremiah Hall	00 09 00	Jonathan Picher	00 09 00

June 24, 1876.

John Riply	00 13 00	Joseph Crosby	00 13 00
Martin Sanders	00 13 00	Samuel Hall	00 09 00
John Thare	00 09 00	Christopher Webb	00 09 00
Thomas Drake	00 13 00	John Mills	00 13 00
Jacob Nash	00 13 00	John Belcher	00 06 04
Joseph Penniman	00 13 00	Ebenezer Williams	00 09 00
Isaac Griffin	00 09 00	Thomas Modsky	00 09 00
Moses Pain	00 09 00	John Ripley	04 10 00
Samuel Pain	00 09 00	Martin Sanders	04 10 00

August 24, 1876.

David Walsbery	00 09 00	John Herse	00 13 00
Isaac Umpfhre a/s		Roger Bulling	00 13 00
Humphry	00 09 00	Edward Brinkford a/s	
Hopetill Clapp	00 09 00	Linsford	00 06 04
John Wells	00 09 03	Thomas Berd	00 07 06
John Minott	00 13 00	Hopetill Humphry	00 09 00
Ephraim Newton	00 09 00	Joshuah Hinsher	00 09 00
Israel Meade	00 09 00	Robert Willts	00 09 00

September 23, 1876.

James White	00 13 00	Charles Davenport	00 09 00
Joseph Tucker	00 09 00	Thomas Davinport	00 09 00

AT THE GARRISON AT SPRINGFIELD.

February 29, 1875-6.

John Lowden	01 10 00
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March 24, 1875-6.

Jonathan Tainter	01 04 00
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June 24, 1876.

Samuel Irons	09 01 16	John Cragge	08 13 00
John Pitcher	10 15 00	George Seddon	11 09 08
Joseph Holmes	10 07 04	Isaac Gleson	17 04 09
Josiah Rockwood	10 16 00	Joseph Pike	10 04 04
Joseph Willington	13 17 00	John Smith	09 01 06
John Pinchon Maj ^r	21 14 03	Gershom Swan	11 06 06
William Pilsbery	10 07 00	John Lowden	12 09 00
John White	11 18 00		

July 24, 1876.

John Bradshaw	10 14 04	Matthew Abdee	12 02 00
Samuel Jewell	13 05 00		

August 24, 1676.

Daniel Galusha	14 05 00	Roger Prosser	03 02 06
Jeremiah Norcross	12 03 00		

September 23, 1676.

Nathaniel Lyon	13 16 00	Benjamin Knowlton	16 12 00
Thomas Elliott	16 16 00	Thomas Bond	13 10 00
Isaac Cakebread	16 16 00	John Mirick	14 12 00
Thomas Friend	08 08 00		

AT THE GARRISON AT WESTFIELD.

July 24, 1676.

John Langworthy	13 01 00
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August 24, 1676.

Solomon Bates	12 06 00	John Lamb	12 13 09
Abraham Kingston	12 06 00	Nathaniel Osborn	16 05 08
Joseph Chamberlain	14 08 00		

September 23, 1676.

George Manning	13 05 08	Robert Hastings	06 09 00
James Hadlock	02 07 00	Thomas Watts	07 10 00
William Rogers	13 02 00	William Peacock	14 14 00
Thomas Norton	13 18 00	Fearnot King	15 16 00

AT THE GARRISON AT WOODCOCK'S.

August 23, 1675.

Daniel East	00 11 02
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September 3, 1675.

Jonathan Freeman	00 10 04
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September 14, 1675.

Daniel Wight	00 10 04	Samuel Guild	00 10 04
William Arnold	00 12 08	John Fuller	00 10 04
Daniel Hawes	00 10 04		

June 24, 1676.

Samuel Colbron	00 10 02
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July 24, 1676.

Nathaniel Weare	00 19 04	Henry Chamberlain	03 18 00
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August 24, 1676.

Ellis Barron	00 16 02
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September 23, 1676.

Richard Benner	00 10 00
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AT THE GARRISON AT WADING RIVER.

September 14, 1675.

Thomas Mudg	02 10 06	John Leroby	02 10 06
Simon Grover	02 10 06	Benjamin Bridgham	00 18 00

GARRISON AT WRENTHAM.

November 20, 1675.

John Starr	04 16 00	John Hammon	05 06 03
John Mason	05 06 03	Thomas Wadduck	04 19 04
John Allin	05 06 03	John Ellis	05 06 03
Thomas Phinly	04 16 00	Edward Gross	01 11 08
John Goff	04 16 00		

January 25, 1675-6.

Anthony Hancock	01 18 06	Thomas Hoppin	02 14 00
John Ellis	02 02 00	Israel Hill	02 01 00
John Mason	01 16 10	John Hammon	02 02 00

February 29, 1675-6.

John Parker	02 08 00
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April 24, 1676.

Isaac Heath	00 07 08	John Ellice	02 19 00
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June 24, 1676.

John Starr	02 01 00	David Faulkner	01 04 00
John Hammon	02 08 00	John Parker	02 07 00
Clement Hamlin	04 04 00		

July 24, 1676.

John Bacon	00 12 00
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September 23, 1676.

John Allin	05 02 00	Peter Buckley, of the	
Robert Ware	04 16 10	Traine	00 18 00
Mark Baker	00 12 00		

 ASSIGNMENT OF WAGES.

The following lists show the custom of the times. The towns assumed the payment of the wages of its own soldiers, to their families left at home; the families thus receiving sure and immediate aid, and the towns being credited to that amount upon their colonial "rates," or taxes. It was doubtless a means of great help to the families, and of saving to the towns, as it secured at once the support of the families without public charge, and at the same time the prompt payment of taxes.

The value of these lists to the historical and genealogical student will appear in the evidence they afford as to each man's residence at that time. The proof might not be positive in every case, yet in general it may be concluded that where a man assigns his wages to a town, it is because he considers that his place of residence.

August 24, 1676.

Braintree-Towne Cr. By Sundry accep ^{ts} Viz.				£	s.	d.
				42	17	06
Edward Bishop p ^d him as p			Robert Parker			03 09 10
Assignment	06	09	02	James Franklin		03 18 06
Richard Evens "	01	14	02	John Lamb		10 18 10
George Witty	00	09	00	Abraham Kingston		09 03 09
Joseph Adams	00	09	00	James Atkins		01 03 06
John Bass	00	09	00	Caleb Raye		00 16 04
Jonathan Pitcher	00	09	00	Samuel Spencer		01 01 04
John Belcher	00	10	02	Martin Sanders		00 06 10
Samuel Irons	01	09	01			

Dorchester-Towne Cr. By Sundry accep ^{ts} Viz.				£	s.	d.
				37	00	05
James Houghton p ^d as p			John Pason			05 03 00
Assignment	00	19	08	Samuel Triscot		00 09 00
Samuel Maxfield	00	09	00	Timothy Tilston		02 05 00
Clement Maxfield	01	07	00	Jonathan Atherton		02 15 00
Benjamin Allin	01	16	10	Samuel Blake		02 05 02
Jeremiah Hall	00	09	00	Thomas North		09 00 04
Henry Leadbetter	02	11	00	John Smith		00 12 09
Samuel Rigby	03	06	08	John Minot		00 13 00
John Spurr	01	18	00			

Dedham-Towne Cr. By Sundry accep ^{ts} Viz.				£	s.	d.
				70	07	02
Timothy Dwite p ^d him as			Jeremiah Fisher			00 12 00
p Assignment	17	00	00	Benjamin Wight		00 12 00
Samuel Guile	06	08	04	Ephraim Wilson		00 12 00
Daniel Wight	02	09	08	John Thurston		00 12 00
David Falkner	03	17	06	Nathaniel Farington		00 12 00
David Falkner Jr.	02	15	06	Edward Sewell		00 12 00
John Day	01	13	06	John Groce		00 12 00
John Day	02	14	09	John Cooekow		00 04 02
John Bacon	00	12	00	James Hening		00 05 00
Ephraim Pond	02	08	00	Peter Woodward		00 17 02
Daniel Hawes	01	06	06	Richard Bennett		03 11 00
Jonathan Guy	02	08	00	John Ware		01 14 03
Samuel Colborn	02	04	09	John Aldis		02 08 00
Thomas Bishop	07	06	09	Benjamin Mills		01 03 06
Nathaniel Weare	00	19	04	David Freeman		01 03 06
John Batle	00	12	00			

Ditto.

Hingham-Towne Cr. By Sundry accep ^{ts} Viz.				56	18	02
Paul Gilford p ^d him as			John Dunbarr			02 03 11
p Assignment	01	03	10	Paul Gilford		02 19 00
John Chamberlaine	10	09	11	Richard Francis		01 00 00
Samuel Gill	02	09	06	Benjamin Bates		05 15 02
John Cutler	15	00	00	John Jacob		07 17 00
Thomas Thaxter	02	16	00	John Bull		02 12 06
Samuel Nicholson	02	11	04			

August 23, 1676.

Hull-Towne Cr. By Sundry accep ^{ts} Viz.		12	13	09
James Chever pd. him as	James Chever			02 05 00
p Assignment	John Angell	00 18 09		03 12 00
Henry Chamberlaine	John Jacob	03 18 00		02 00 00

Ditto.

Milton-Towne Cr. By Sundry accep ^{ts} Viz.		47	11	09
George Lyon pd. him by	John Daniel			00 09 00
Assignment	John Pitcher	00 09 00		00 12 10
John Redman	John Fenno	00 18 00		00 15 04
Samuel Wadsworth	Richard Silvester			00 18 00
p Abigail	John Pitcher	16 15 06		03 17 07
Henry Roberts	Thomas Voss	00 09 00		07 10 00
John Jourdan	Samuel Pitcher	00 07 00		00 09 00
Walter Mory	Thomas Holman	00 07 00		02 18 10
Richard Silvester	Ephraim Newton	04 12 08		00 09 00
Benjamin Badcock	Thomas Swift	03 09 06		01 02 06
Samuel Gullifer	Benjamin Badcock	00 13 00		00 09 00

August 24, 1676.

Medfield-Towne Cr. By Sundry Accp ^{ts} viz.		14	04	06
John Plimpton pd. as p	Josiah Rockwood			03 14 08
Assignment	Vincent Shuttleworth	02 14 00		02 11 04
John Hammon	Edward Groce	02 08 00		02 16 06

Ditto.

Roxbury-Towne Cr. By Sundry Accp ^{ts} Viz.		51	17	01
William Davenport pd. as	John Weld			10 16 08
p Assignment	Henry Bowen	02 10 00		00 15 00
Samuel Williams	Samuel Williams	05 01 00		01 17 06
Joseph Smith	John Weld	09 13 02		03 06 06
Isaac Johnson p his widow	John Watson	01 05 00		00 18 00
John Curtis	Richard Hall	02 08 01		05 10 06
Onesiphorus Stanly	John Newell	01 11 03		00 17 08
Jonathan Fairbanks	John Pason	03 01 00		00 10 00
John Clark	John Weld	00 09 03		01 11 00
Hugh Clark	Joshuah Lamb	01 05 00		02 02 10
Joseph Lyon	Andrew Levens	01 06 05		01 10 00
John Whitney	Robert Seaver	00 18 00		01 02 06
John Scott		00 10 09		

August 24, 1676.

Weighmouth-Towne Cr. By Sundry Accp ^{ts} viz.		52	01	10
Benjamin Poole pd. as p	Joshuah Philips			09 19 05
Assignment	John Record	09 18 00		04 00 00
Thomas Bayley	John Pinchon Esq ^r	01 16 10		10 00 00
John Pinchon Esq ^r	Richard Adams	12 10 01		03 17 06

Ditto.

Bradford-Towne Cr. By Sundry Accp ^{ts} viz.		04	01	03
John Griffin pd. him as p	William Smith			03 02 00
assignment		00 19 03		

Ditto.

Beverly-Towne Cr. By Sundry Accp ^{ts} viz.			31	01	06
John Dodge pd. as p		John Rayment		03	11 00
Assignment	01 10 00	John Hull		04	14 02
William Dodge	01 00 00	John Clark		03	08 00
Joseph Eaton	05 18 06	Samuel Hebert		04	00 06
Jonathan Mosse	01 05 10	Mark Hascall		05	13 06

Ditto.

Glocester-Town Cr. By Sundry Accp ^{ts} viz.			17	05	10
Benjamin Jones pd. as p		Philip Stanwood		03	08 06
Assignment	01 04 00	Samuel Stanwood		02	11 06
John Fitch	02 15 10	John Day		03	15 00
John Stanwood	01 02 00	John Hascall		02	09 00

August 24, 1676.

Hampton-Towne Cr. By Sundry Accp ^{ts} viz.			50	14	03
Edward Colcord pd. as p		William Sanborn		01	04 00
Assignment	02 00 00	Thomas Roby		01	04 00
Joseph Cask	03 08 06	John Browne		01	04 00
Benjamin Molton	03 01 02	Palmer		01	08 06
Ephraim Matson	01 03 00	Joseph Smith		01	17 06
John Lovitt	00 14 00	James Hobbs		03	05 00
Israel Blake	01 00 00	John Palmer		04	19 04
Abraham Drake	00 13 08	Ebenezer Perkins		01	15 00
Morris Hobbs	01 04 00	John Browne		06	12 05
Francis Jennings	00 19 06	Benjamin Sweett		05	01 00
John Sleeper	00 18 00	Samuel Colcord		01	01 04
Isrel Clifford	00 00 00	Michael Towsly		01	15 00
Micael Towsly	00 17 00	Thomas Browne		03	08 04

Ditto.

Ipswich-Towne Cr. By Sundry accp ^{ts} viz.			67	15	09
John Chub pd. as p		Joseph Proctor		00	17 00
Assignment	06 04 06	John Browne		02	08 00
Alexander Alhort	02 10 06	John Potter		01	04 00
Samuel Bishop	01 10 00	Richard Pasmore		02	12 05
Joseph Fellows	01 15 00	Jonathan Wade		06	00 10
Isaac Fellows	01 05 06	Thomas Smith		01	13 04
Simon Grow	02 07 05	Thomas Dennis		01	05 06
Joseph Marshall	04 00 00	John Line		04	02 06
Samuel Ingols	01 10 10	John Pengilly		03	18 03
Amos Gourdine	01 00 00	Joseph Jacob		02	09 10
Edward Neland	02 00 00	Isaac Perkins		00	15 04
Josiah Clark	02 16 06	Thomas Philips		04	11 06
Simon Adams	06 03 00	Jacob Wainwright		02	14 00

August 24, 1676.

Linn-Towne Cr. By Sundry Accp ^{ts} viz.			59	19	11
Samuel Ireson pd as p		John Man		02	08 00
Assignment	03 03 03	John Burrell		03	06 00
John Linsly	00 18 00	John Moore		01	10 00
Philip Cartland	04 17 08	Thadeus Berry		03	03 06

Thomas Browne	03 11 00	Joseph Burrell	01 04 00
Isaac Wellman	02 05 00	Samuel Fisk	00 16 06
Samuel Graves	01 13 00	Elisha Fuller	02 02 04
Eliazer Linsey	01 16 00	Thomas Leonard	00 15 08
Isaac Lewis	03 02 00	Moses Chadwell	01 01 00
Thomas Barker	04 16 09	Daniel Johnson	03 04 00
Robert Coates	07 08 00	Timothy Bread	03 03 06
William Dellow	03 03 06	James Robinson	00 11 03

August 24, 1676.

Marblehead-Towne Cr. By Sundry Accep ^{ts} viz.	25 10 10
Gregory Sowder pd as p	George Cross 01 16 08
Assignment	Walter Emmett 02 10 00
Ephraim Jones	Augustine Ferker 01 04 00
Rowland Ravensbee	John Parmer 01 00 06
Enoch Lawrence	Mark Pitman 01 16 10
Thomas Russell	Thomas Stanford 01 04 06

Ditto.

Newbury-Towne Cr. By Sundry Accep ^{ts} viz.	21 05 02
Jonathan Emery pd as p	John Wilcott 04 10 00
Assignment	Richard Browne 03 03 04
Edmond Browne	Edward Ordway 01 09 02
Henry Sparkes	

Ditto.

Rowly-Towne Cr. By Sundry accep ^{ts} viz.	27 02 10
John Wood pd. as p	Samuel Cooper 01 16 00
Assignment	Thomas Lever 03 03 06
Samuel Smith	Robert Eames 04 17 05
Daniel Wicomb	Joshuah Boynton 05 09 00

August 24, 1676.

Salem-Towne Cr. By Sundry accep ^{ts} viz.	151 19 04
Thomas Fuller pd. as p	John Smith 01 10 10
Assignment	Jacob Pudenter 01 04 00
John Dodge	Thomas Howard 03 02 00
Edward Bishop	Joseph Jeffords 01 09 00
William Wainwright	Nicholas Deurell 07 18 00
William Pilsbury	Francis Jefford 05 16 09
Henry Kenny	Henry Cooke 02 03 00
Joseph Deares	Peter Jennings 04 02 00
Abraham Snitchell	Samuel Pickworth 00 11 06
William Woodbury	Richard Norman 01 10 00
John Bullock	Joseph King 01 16 00
Symon Broadstreet Esq ^r	Robert Pease 03 16 06
Nathaniel Pease	Francis Nichols 04 16 00
William Hathorn	Francis Bond 06 11 00
Jeremiah Neale	William Stacie 00 12 00
John Richards	Abel Oazier 01 16 00
George Wyat	Thomas Bell 01 16 04
Thomas Robinson	Thomas Veasie 02 18 10
Edward Counter	

Ditto.

Topsfield-Towne Cr. By pd. as p Assignment

John Wild 06 15 06

August 24, 1676.

Wenham-Towe Cr. By pd. as p Assignment

Thomas Kemball 02 07 03

*Ditto.*Haverell-Towne Cr. By Sundry Accp^{ts} viz. 14 16 08

Samuel Hutchins pd. as p		Thomas Hartshorn	00 12 00
Assignment	00 15 06	Richard Allin	01 17 06
Nathaniel Haseltine	01 00 06	Robert Swan	00 11 10
Samuel Aires	00 08 06	Henry Kemball	01 06 10
John Keisar	00 08 06	Benjamin Grealg	01 00 06
John Clements	00 08 06	Jonathan Henrick	00 15 04
Amos Singletons	00 05 00	John Corly	00 15 04
Nathaniel Lad	00 05 00	John Roby	00 08 06
Daniel Lad	00 05 00	Samuel Ladd	03 17 00
George Brown	00 13 00	Thomas Kinsbury	01 12 04
John Johnson	00 02 06	Robert Swan	01 04 00
Philip Esman	00 15 04	John Haseltine	01 04 00
Benjamin Singleterry	00 15 04	Samuel Watts	00 13 06
Thomas Durston	00 17 10	Joseph Bond	00 13 06
Thomas Eastman	01 04 00		

*Ditto.*Andover-Towne Cr. By Sundry Accp^{ts} viz. 25 19 00

John Lovejoy pd. as p		Roger Mark	02 09 00
Assignment	01 10 00	John Matson	02 14 00
Stephen Johnson	01 02 06	Joseph Parker	01 10 00
Samuel Phelps	02 14 00	Nathaniel Stephens	02 09 06
John Preson	02 10 00	Ebenezer Barker	02 02 00
Zechariah Ayres	01 10 00	James Fry	02 14 00
Joseph Abbott	02 14 00		

*August 24, 1676.*Billerrica-Towne Cr. By Sundry accp^{ts} viz 05 06 04

Nathaniel Hill pd. as p		John Saunders	02 14 06
Assignment	00 12 10	Thomas Farmer	01 19 00

*Ditto.*Cambridge-Towne Cr. By Sundry accp^{ts} viz. 113 04 01

Thomas Frost pd. as p		Thomas Frost	00 09 06
Assignment	01 00 06	John Jones	00 09 04
Jonathan Lawrence	01 14 06	Christopher Muskins	02 06 09
Crackbone	00 05 00	Justinian Houldin	00 15 08
Samuel Prentice	00 09 04	John Salter	02 10 04
John Gibson	01 12 10	John Bradshaw	06 11 04
Philip Russell	02 06 00	Joseph Holmes	04 06 04
William Bordman	01 02 03	Zechariah Paddlefoot	01 02 06
John Dickson	01 01 04	Daniel Woodward	03 08 06
Nathaniel Green	01 12 06	John Watson	00 14 00
Mathew Abdee	05 16 01	James Chevers	01 16 08
Thomas Eams	01 08 04	William Hely	02 07 05

Ambros Mackfasset	02 13 02	John Cragg	04 17 00
Samuel Cooper	02 17 00	Ephraim Phillips	01 15 06
Jonathan Remington	05 17 08	Robert Robins	00 09 04
David Mead	00 09 04	Samuel Gibson	00 03 04
John Dowgin	00 09 04	Joseph Pratt	00 15 04
Justinian Holding	00 07 06	Nathaniel Green	01 08 06
Isaac Beech	00 09 04	Isaac Gleson	06 18 10
William Rider	00 10 02	Jacob Hill	05 12 00
John Streeter	03 17 05	Justinian Houlding	01 15 06
Samuel Goft	01 00 00	Edward Mitchenson	03 15 00
Edward Goft	01 13 04	Samuel Green	01 16 07
Daniel Woodward	02 05 00	Abraham How	02 10 00
John Stedman	01 17 00	Samuel Green	03 15 00
Joseph Cooke	04 02 00	Daniel Gookin Esq ^r .	03 07 06
Peter Towne	00 07 06		

August 24, 1676.

Chelmsford-Towne Cr. By Sundry accep ^{ts} viz.	05	05	06
Joseph Hide pd. as p		Jacob Willer	02 15 00
Assignment	01 00 06	John Barrett	01 10 00

Ditto.

Concord-Towne Cr. By Sundry accep ^{ts} viz.	45	06	04
John Wheeler pd. as p		Nathaniel Billing	04 10 0
Assignment	01 07 06	William Kean	04 14 06
Joseph Wheeler	02 09 00	John Hadlock	06 12 03
Abraham Temple	02 02 00	Joseph Chamberlain	08 06 11
Thomas Wheeler jun ^r .	04 00 00	Stephen Goble	01 12 10
Daniel Gobely	01 10 00	Benjamin Chamberlain	06 00 00
Benjamin Graves	00 10 00	John Lakin	00 15 00
James Sawyer	00 04 04	Richard Blood	00 12 00

Ditto.

Charles-Towne Cr. By Sundry accep ^{ts} viz.	308	15	06
Cornelius Church pd. as p		Solomon Phips	02 09 04
Assignment	02 15 09	Jonathan Cary	01 01 00
Benjamin Switzer	00 04 02	Hopewell Davis	01 09 00
John Upham	10 03 05	Edward Smith	00 14 06
Charles Duckworth	02 09 06	Richard Scott	02 02 00
John Prescott Sen ^r .	05 00 00	Obadiah Wood	00 15 08
John Mirecke	03 09 08	William Vines	01 09 02
Giles Fifield	00 16 10	Thomas White	00 14 00
Daniel Baldwin	00 03 04	David Crouch	03 10 08
John Newman	04 07 02	Samuel Blaincher	00 08 10
Zechariah Brigden	00 15 06	Joseph Douss	02 09 06
John Walker	01 06 10	Samuel Cutler	00 16 10
Hugh Taylor	04 05 06	James Kelling	04 09 06
Joseph Lowe	01 06 11	Josiah Wood	01 03 04
Samuel Lord	01 14 10	John Cromwell	02 18 00
Nathan Dunklins	03 09 10	Thomas Rand	01 04 10
John Rosse	01 14 00	Thomas Henchman	06 15 10
James Miller	01 12 10	Henry Harris	02 01 02
John Mirick	06 00 00	Nathaniel Douse	01 07 04
David Crouch	01 05 00	Richard Scott	03 10 06

Francis Earle	00 10 02	William Rawson	07 02 06
Samuel Dalton	01 00 07	Samuel Jewell	01 00 00
John Mousall	00 02 04	Hugh Taylor	01 13 08
David Jones	05 15 06	John Cromwell	02 09 06
James Loudon	00 10 00	John Essery	02 06 09
Thomas How	01 00 00	Nathaniel Graves	12 01 00
John Barrett	02 07 01	Joseph Pike	01 11 00
Thomas Davis	02 05 00	John Edes	00 06 08
Zechariah Jones	00 05 04	Joseph Royal	00 10 02
Thomas Wheeler	01 03 04	Arthur Clouch	06 12 00
James Richardson	10 10 00	Edward Wilson	00 09 00
John Spaulden	02 00 00	Ephraim Roper	04 07 06
Zechariah Fowle	02 10 00	Silvester Hares	04 10 00
Josiah Hobbs	03 01 00	Zechariah Johnson	00 14 10
John Sellenden	06 12 00	Isaac Johnson	00 05 02
John Eliot	01 18 00	Samuel Hunting	03 00 00
Thomas Croswell	01 12 10	John Simple	04 18 00
John Elliot	01 13 06	Henry Berisford	01 15 07
William Chapman	01 10 00	Samuel Champine	00 11 06
Isaac Fowl	00 08 00	John George	06 12 00
Jonathan Johnson	02 05 04	William Fisher	06 12 00
Richard Scott	04 00 00	Joshuah Edmunds	00 06 10
John Shepheard	03 12 00	John Goodwin	02 13 00
Howell Davis	02 06 04	James Smith	05 17 08
Daniel Smith	03 00 06	Josiah Smith	00 08 10
John Tarball	03 04 10	John Eliot	03 18 00
William Ward	03 10 06	Jacob Amsden	03 00 00
Edward Smith	04 14 00	William Clough	00 14 00
Samuel Hunting	01 01 00	John Smith	00 03 04
Benjamin Lathrop	02 08 00	John Douss	00 10 00
William Stephens	02 15 08	Joseph Lambson	01 05 08
Samuell Jewell	03 16 08	Thomas Stacy	03 15 04
Joseph Harris	01 10 00	Joseph Lambson	00 16 03
Henry Salter	01 04 04	William Whiting	01 03 04
James Miller	00 10 06	Joseph Lampson	00 12 00
Henry Harris	03 00 10	Zechariah Brigdon	02 03 00
John Long	02 02 06	James Richardson	06 02 06
Matthew Griffin	04 04 09	Henry Harris	03 12 10
Samuel Scripture	01 15 06	Daniel Edmonds	02 06 08
Lawrence Hammond	05 00 00	Joseph Pike	02 07 05

August 24, 1676.

Medford-Towne Cr. By Sundry accp ^{ts} viz.	04 02 05
Evan Jones pd. as p	James Parker
Assignment	01 04 08
	02 17 09

August 24, 1676.

Maulden-Town Cr. By Sundry accp ^{ts} viz.	49 11 03
John Winslow pd. as p	John Martine
Assignment	02 09 10
John Pemberton	02 12 00
John Ross	02 09 00
Samuel Hayward	01 19 04
	Robert Carter
	James Nichols
	James Winslade
	William Laraby
	00 09 04
	00 09 04
	00 08 06
	00 09 04
	00 09 04

John Wait	03 05 00	William Green	00 08 06
Jonathan Sprague	00 18 10	Phineas Sprague	00 07 00
Triall Nubury	09 05 05	John Green	00 07 00
Bernard Pearch	01 04 00	John Dexter	00 07 00
John Floyde	10 19 08	Samuel Green	00 07 00
William Green	00 17 00	Joseph Wilson	00 07 00
Phineas Sprague	00 17 00	John Lind	00 07 00
Ellis Barron	00 16 02	Thomas Newell	00 07 00
Jonathan Sprague	04 02 04	John Sprague	00 07 00
Ellis Barron	02 02 04	Thomas Mudge	00 07 00

Ditto.

Redding-Towne Cr. By Sundry accp ^{ts} viz.	12 17 10
Daniel Galushah pd. as p	Thomas Hodgman 01 08 00
Assignment	Samuel Damman 04 02 00
Jonathan Parker	02 10 04

Ditto.

Water-Towne Cr. By Sundry accp ^{ts} viz.	146 10 00
Abraham Williams pd. as	Ephraim Bemish 03 05 00
p Assignment	Joseph Smith 01 00 00
Richard Sawtell	John Stone 03 03 06
Enos Lawrence	Thomas Train 06 12 00
Jonathan Stimpson	Samuel Church 01 18 00
George Woodward	Michel Bastow 02 16 06
Thomas Whitney	Thomas Whitney 00 04 02
William Goddard	John Willington 02 08 06
Joseph Willington	John Oynes 00 15 08
Samuel Whitney	Henry Spring 02 19 10
Zechariah Cutting	Jonathan Whitney 03 08 02
John Sawin	William Shattucke 04 10 00
Joseph Peirce	Samuel Thacher 01 04 03
Theophilus Philips	Jeremiah Norcrass 09 05 08
John Prescott	Daniel Smith 01 05 06
Moses Whitney	William Price 02 13 00
Isaac Leonard	John Stone 01 10 10
Joseph Bemish	Thomas Chadwick 01 10 10
John Sterns	Samuel Perry 03 18 00
Jonathan Smith	William Bull 00 04 02
William Bond	William Price jun ^r 01 07 03
Josiah Jones	Samuel Perry 01 05 06
Joseph Wait	Munning Sawin 00 12 00
Samuel Sterns	Eliazer Beeres 00 12 00
John Parke	John Coolidge 02 10 00
John Fisk	Seubael Sternes 03 01 00
John Eames	John Hastings 00 19 08
John Bigello	Stephen Coolidge 01 02 02
Daniel Peirce	John Oyne 02 00 00
Richard Child	Thomas Swann 01 08 10
Joseph Garfell	John Bright 04 10 00
John Cutting	Daniel Gookin Esq ^r . 02 11 02 $\frac{1}{4}$
Daniel Warrin	Samuel Wood 00 13 01 $\frac{1}{2}$

August 24, 1667.

Wooborn-Towne Cr. By Sundry accep ^{ts} viz.			107	12	08
John Barbene pd. as p		Josiah Clarson			02 07 10
Assignment	03 19 02	Joseph Simons			02 07 10
John Malloone	08 02 08	Josiah Clarson			03 11 02
John Baker	03 00 00	William Butler			02 19 02
Robert Simson	03 12 00	Increase Winn			01 12 10
Joseph Simons	04 17 00	Benony Macktonell			02 09 06
John Cutler	04 15 02	Thomas Parker			03 11 03
Benjamin Simons	02 12 00	Joseph Richardson			03 01 08
Joseph Winne	00 14 00	Thomas Hall			01 06 00
John Priest	03 05 00	Thomas Pierce			00 14 03
John Kendall	02 16 10	John Richardson			00 17 00
John Polly	01 06 00	Increase Wing			00 14 03
John Bateman	02 02 00	Richard Francis			02 00 00
John Polly	00 18 10	Nathaniel Richardson			00 14 03
Joseph Waters	02 13 09	Samuel Richardson			00 10 00
Abraham Parker	04 10 10	John Priest			05 02 00
Isaac Brookes	01 01 06	Moses Cleaveland			03 03 06
Joseph Wright	04 10 00	Samuel Cleavland			03 07 08
John Baker	05 15 03	John Wilson			00 14 00
John Barben	05 04 06	William Green			00 12 00

NO. XXVII.

LIEUT. PHINEAS UPHAM AND OTHER OFFICERS.

THOSE officers who were engaged in the service against the Indians, in the war of 1675-1677, have now been mentioned in connection with the soldiers who served under them. Generally these officers have been taken in order as their names occur in the accounts of Treasurer Hull, which have, from the beginning, formed the basis of these papers. The history, therefore, does not follow consecutive events; but, as the material has been from the accounts of the Treasurer, and from the Archives of Massachusetts Colony, the story has followed the fortunes of the Massachusetts officers and soldiers. Nothing beyond the mention of the soldiers and officers of Massachusetts was at first contemplated; but as the work has advanced, lack of material from Plymouth and Connecticut Colonies has alone prevented detailed accounts of their men and deeds.

Some of the officers and men of Massachusetts remain to be set down in their order. Some of the names have occurred incidentally in connection with others. These with the men credited under them receive mention below.

LIEUT. PHINEAS UPHAM AND HIS COMMAND.

Lieut. Phineas Upham was the son of John Upham, who, about the year 1635, settled in Weymouth, having wife Elizabeth and several children. Phineas was born in 1635 or 1636. About 1648 his father removed to Malden, and there the son grew up; and there he married, April 14, 1658, Ruth Wood; and they had children: Phineas, Nathaniel, Ruth, John, Elizabeth and probably Richard and Thomas. Lieut. Upham was a man of more than ordinary ability and influence, as the records, and references to his public services in places of trust, prove. At the breaking out of the war he held the rank of Lieutenant in the local company.

He was in command of men, and in service during the latter part of the summer; and in September, 1675, led a company of thirty-eight men out to Mendon to meet Capt. John Gorham of Plymouth Colony, and the account of their service on that occasion is explained in the following letters:

*Letter of Lt. Phineas Upham to the Governor and Council.*From Mendum, y^e 1st: Octobr: 1675.Honer^d Gou^rner & Counsell.

These are to certify your worships that Cap^t. Gorum with myselfe & our Souldiers of both Company^s are in good health at pres^t through mercy;

And to give your honer an account of our seaverell marches; first we Came to Mendum one the 25th day of the weeke at nightt being the 21th of September and one the 25th day we marched from Mendum unto Hassanamisett hoping there to have had an Indian for our guide; butt the Indians were all gone from thence; and were thereby disapoynted of our expectation & one the next day we marched unto Packachong where we found a feild of good corn and well fenced: which we did think convenient not to destroy: Concluding that for ought we Knew Sum of the neeriest of our Inhabitance would be willing to save itt; butt we could not finde any Indians neither the signe of any being there of late and we marched from thence unto Manchoag and Chobanamagungamung where we found sum cornefields and sum wigwams, which Corn and wigwams we burnt and destroyed butt (we did not) finde any of our enimes which was a greate discouragement to us, having taken soe much paynes to finde them; then we Returned and marched to an Indian Plantation called Shockebogue where we Could not finde any Indians butt found a Considerable quantity of Good Corne which we did not destroy butt Reserved itt at the Request of Sum of Mendum who thinke to fetch itt home for there use; and from thence we Came to Mendum one the 30th of Sept^r: now seeing in all our marches we finde noe Indians verily thinke thatt they are drawne together into greate bodyes farr Remote from those partes:

If your honers please to send us one any further Service I hope we shall nott be unwilling butt forwarde to doe our uttermost Indeavours with all desiring that you would be pleased to add unto our number seeing that besides the Garrison men which must be left heere in garrison we have butt 30 men besides my Selfe, Capt. Gorum being now in his march to Mount-hope and If we goe further we desir thatt we may have a Surgeon and some other thatt may be acquainted with the woodes where you Sende us the want of w^{ch} hath beene a discouragement to our men: And as for the town of Mendum I am desired to Commend the desolate condition of y^m unto you^r honers: Severall of there Inhabitance being removed from them: and those in garrison being butt poore helps in divers respects and in number but 12 men, with theire armes very defective.

The plantation is very Remotte & therefore soe much the more stands in neede of helpe; itt is very Likely to be a prosperous place if itt please God to putt an Ishue to thes troubles and therefore it is the more pitty to have itt deserted by there people: who think it must be If they have nott sum assistance they hope: 20: men well fitted with this one Returned might be sufisient If your honers se Causs; and further they desired to acquainte your honers that y^e Indians of Hassanamisett which your honers apoynted to sett down with them have desertted there one town and come nott to that at Mendum And soe nott haveing any more to troublee your Honers with

I Rest your Hon^r

To Command

PHINEHAS UPHAM,

Liftenant.

Letter of Capt. John Gorum to Gov^{or} & Council.

Mendum Octob: th: 1: 1675.

Much honrd my servis with all due Respekts humbly presented to yoursele and the rest of the Counsill hoping of your helths I have made bold to troble you with these few lines to give your honnors an account of our progress in your Jurisdiction: Acording unto your honers order and determination I arived at Mendum with fifty men and the next day Leftenant Upham arived with thirty-eight men and the day following wee joyned our forces together and marched in pesuite to find our Enniny; but God hath bin pleased to denigh us any oppertunity tharein; though with much Labor and travill we have indeavored to find them out which Left. Upham hath given you a more particular account: our Solders being much worne out having bin in the ffeeld this foretene weeks and little hoops of finding the Enimy, we are this day Returning towards our Genrall: but as for my one part I shall be Redy to sarve God and the Country in this just warr soe long as I have life and helth. Not Else to troble you I Rest yours to Sarve in what I am able.

Mass. Archives, Vol. 67.

JOHN GORUM.

From Mendon Lieut. Upham marched his company to Brookfield towards Springfield, where he was ordered by the Court to report to Capt. Wayte, who was expected to command a company in the service under Major John Pynchon, and that arrangement failing, he was assigned to the command of Capt. Jonathan Poole, with whom he joined forces and marched to Hadley before October 12th. He was formally placed under command of Capt. Poole in the organization of the army under Major Appleton, and served thus, in the stirring events of the weeks following.

November 20th, he was credited as Lieut. under Capt. Poole, £06. 19. 04. He returned home when the army withdrew from the west; but joined the forces at Narraganset, probably after the muster at Dedham, December 10th. He was assigned to Capt. Johnson's company, and after that gallant officer's fall, was himself fatally wounded, at the head of the company, inside the fort. He was among the wounded at Rhode Island, January 6, 1675-6. He died at Boston, October, 1676, and October 12, 1676, the court issued the following order:

Order of the General Court.

October 12, 1676. In answer to the petiçon of Ruth Upham, widdow & relict of the late Left. Phineas Upham, the Court Judgeth it meet to order, that the bills of charges to churgeons, doct^{rs} & diet, mentioned in sajd petiçon, be p^d by the Treasurer of the country; and in consideration of the long and good service hir husband did for the country, & the greate losse the widdow susteynes in his death, being left with seven small children, & not able to carry on their affaires for the support of hirself & family, doe further order the Treasurer to pay unto the sajd widdow tenn pounds in or as money.

Items, Treasurer to pay,	£	s	d
Mr. Chickering bill	2	14	08
Edward Ellis, Chir	2	10	00
Mr. Addington	1	03	05
Dr. Cooke	1	05	00
Mrs. Peire, for diet	4	18	00
To y ^e Widdow	10	00	00

Col. Records, Vol. V. p. 122.

Credited under Lient. Upham.

December 20 th 1675	June 24 th 1676
Robert Skelton 01 01 04	John Hall 01 00 00
Robert Bardall 02 02 00	August 24 th 1676
John Shaw 00 10 02	Thomas Hoppin 00 07 08

It will be seen that the men who served under him were mostly paid off under the vouchers of Capt. Poole; and after the fight at Narraganset he was never again able to take command.

Capt. SAMUEL HUNTING was son of John of Dedham, and was born July 22, 1640. Settled first at Chelmsford and later at Charlestown. He married Hannah Hockburne of Roxbury, Dec. 24, 1662, and had Samuel, b. March 3, 1665, d. soon; again Samuel, b. July 15, 1666; Catharine, b. May 2, 1670; Ann, b. Nov. 9, 1673; Ebenezer, b. Aug. 27, 1676; Merey, b. March 13, 1681; Hannah, b. Dec. 3, 1682.

Capt. Hunting was commissioned as Capt. of a mixed company of English and "Christian" or "Praying" Indians, and in that capacity did excellent service on various occasions. His services have been noted in connection with other officers, and a more detailed account will properly fall into the chapter upon the friendly Indians, &c.

Credited under Capt. Hunting.

Samuel Hunting, <i>Capt.</i>	21 00 00	William Browne	01 05 08
James Richeson, <i>Lieut.</i>	10 10 00	Andrew Robinson	02 15 06
Nathaniel Dunklin	05 05 00	Thomas Frost	03 01 08
Sept. 23, 1676		Jacob Farar	02 18 00
Benjamin Collins	01 08 06	Thomas Peach	02 07 00
John Devericks	01 08 06		

In general, accounts were not kept with the Indians.

Credited under Lient. Edward Creeke.

Lient. CREEKE was of Boston, of the Artillery Co., 1674. Served with Capt. Turner in the west, and led home the remnant of his company after that officer's death.

In October, 1676, he was in command of a force of thirty-four men at a garrison in Wells. No credit is found for these, but one of the soldiers in the western campaign secured his credit under Lient. Creeke, viz. :

August 24, 1676
John Gilbert 05 09 08

Capt. GEORGE CORWIN, or Curwen, came from England with wife Elizabeth (White, widow of John), and settled at Salem in 1638. Their children were: Abigail, b. Aug. 1, 1637; John, b. July 25, 1638; Hannah, b. ———, 1642; Jonathan, b. Nov. 14, 1640. This wife Elizabeth died July 15, 1668, and he married 2d, July 22, 1669, Mrs. Elizabeth Brooks, widow of Robert, of Plymouth, and daughter of Gov. Edward Winslow, and by her had: Penelope, b. June 7, 1670; Susannah, b. Oct. 10, 1672; George, b. 1674. Capt. Corwin was a deputy from Salem many times, was a man of ability, influence and very popular. He was chosen to the command of the Troop raised at Salem and Lynn, and was commissioned October 8, 1662.

In Philip's war, the only active service which I have found referred to him, appears in the Colonial Records, Vol. V. p. 90. At the session of the Court May 5, 1676, Capt. Corwin was presented for the "evil example of his demeanor and carriage" towards Capt. Henchman, under whose command he was serving, with his troop, in the spring of 1676. He was reduced from his command with a severe reprimand, and fined one hundred pounds. The following September he was, upon the petition of his troopers, reinstated in his command; and in 1679-80 the court remitted his fine.

Credited under Capt. George Corwin.

July 24, 1676		Sept. 23, 1676.	
John Dodge	00 10 00	Benjamin Collins	00 11 05
William Dodge	00 10 00	John Putnam	01 08 07
Zechariah Henrick	00 10 00	Henry Kenney	00 11 05
		Geo. Corwin, <i>Capt.</i>	02 05 00

Capt. Corwin died in Salem, January 3, 1684-5.

Miscellaneous Credits.

Credits under Capt. Gilman.

June 24, 1676			
Amos Singleterry	00 05 00	Robert Swann	00 11 10
Nathaniel Lad	00 05 00	Daniel Lad, Jr	00 05 00
George Brown	00 13 00	August 24, 1676	
John Johnson	00 02 06	Ephraim Fowlshure	00 19 08

This officer was probably EZEKIEL GILMAN of Boston, 1675, who served under Capt Oliver as Sergt. in the Narraganset campaign; was wounded at the fight; was at Rhode Island January 6th, 1675-6. He was out again under Capt. Turner in the spring, serving as Sergt. In the Settlement he is styled "Capt."

Credited under Edward Cowell.

August 24, 1676	
John Scant	00 16 00

Credited without officer or place assigned.

	March 24, 1675-6		
Elias Peckworth	04 02 00	Thomas North	02 12 00

Credited under Capt. (Aaron) Cooke.

	August 24, 1676		Sept. 23, 1676
John Stedman	01 17 00	Thomas Hart	01 02 02
John Parneer	01 00 06		

Credited under Lieut. John Floyd.

	August 24, 1676
Benjamin Switzer	00 04 02

Floyd was Lieut. under Capt. Henchman.

No. XXVIII.

PHILIP, CANONCHET AND THEIR INDIANS.

THIS series of papers has never claimed or aimed to be a history of Philip's war; it nevertheless has held as closely as possible to a connected narrative of events, while pursuing the original purpose, which was an account of the soldiers from Massachusetts Colony engaged in the war with Philip; the basis being the lists of names found in the accounts of Treasurer John Hull. While therefore the three colonies, Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, each did its part faithfully and bravely, according to its ability, our attention has naturally followed the fortunes of the Massachusetts troops. Whenever the different colonies united in operations against the Indians, it has been the purpose to give due credit for the service; but having no lists of the names of the soldiers of either Plymouth or Connecticut, the references to these have been of necessity very meagre.

The war began within the Plymouth colony, and some of its most important events took place there. While the two most powerful and hostile of the tribes arrayed against the English were either within the limits of Plymouth or Connecticut, or near their borders; the two great chiefs, Philip and Canonchet, were of these southern tribes, the Wampanoags and Narragansets. It is therefore fitting that some mention should be made of such important events as have not been noted in connection with the troops of Massachusetts.

Most of the events of general importance which took place in the beginning of the war, and subsequently until after the great fight with the Narragansets, have been told in their order heretofore. The "Entertaining Narrative" of Mr. Church, published by his son, became, during the last part of the last century, a sort of text-book of history, for the reason that other contemporary publications like those of Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Mather, &c., were out of print, and copies rare. Mr. Church relates his personal adventures, makes small account of the more important matters, and is entirely careless and unreliable as a historian; and his story unduly magnifies certain small personal experiences, which have very slight bearing on the

course of the war, though there is no doubt that he was a very brave and very able Indian fighter, and one of the most successful of all who led our soldiers against the Eastern Indians in later wars. His story deals mostly with operations carried on in Plymouth colony, by himself and a few scouts gathered at his call. By the revival of interest in our national and local history, the first authentic histories and contemporary records and documents have been brought to light and published, so that we may more clearly study the course of the events of the war from reliable data. But most of the early writers are so strongly prejudiced against the Indians that, unconsciously, they weaken the authority of their accounts by their evident unfairness toward their enemies.

A brief statement, from the side of the Indians, of their movements and plans so far as can be judged by the evidence we have, may help us to a better knowledge of the war than any of the histories afford. All know that Metacomb or Pometacomb, second son of the great chief Massasoit, whom the English named Philip, and who is known in history as King Philip, was the recognized instigator and leader in the great Indian war which has always been designated by his name.

Massasoit's eldest son Wamsutta, called by the English Alexander succeeded to the dignity and possessions of his father in 1661, but, lived only about a year in the enjoyment of his inheritance. His wife was Weetamoo (her name best known), who seems to have been not only an hereditary princess, but a very able and energetic woman. She was called the "Squaw Sachem of Pocasset," and derived that title either from her father or an earlier husband. She claimed to own all the country around Pocasset in her own right, and also the disposal and rule of her tribe. Weetamoo was a personage of importance and influence in the war, as after the death of Wamsutta she returned to her people and retained her title and power amongst them; and it would appear that just before the breaking out of the war she had some three hundred fighting men under her authority. There is good evidence that Queen Weetamoo and Petonowewett, whom the queen married after the death of Wamsutta, were both opposed to the war, but could not control the young warriors who were attracted to Philip's war-dances, and were there inflamed with the war-passion of the chief. Weetamoo was the sister of Wootonekanuske, it is said, and as she was doubly sister-in-law of Philip, it is not strange that she followed the inclination of her warriors and yielded to the craft and power of Philip, thus greatly strengthening his hands. Petonowewett would not join Philip, but withdrew to the English side and followed their fortunes throughout the struggle. Weetamoo further assisted the cause of Philip by renouncing her recreant husband, and marrying Quinapin, a Narraganset chief, a near relative of Canonchet, and second in command at the great "fort-fight;" he was prominent in the attack upon Lancaster,

becoming the master of Mrs. Rowlandson by purchasing her from her captor.

There are many proofs of the ability of Philip as a diplomat, in planning and preparing for the war. He succeeded his brother as the chief Sachem of the Wampanoags about 1662. This is not the place to discuss the causes which led to the war. The passion of the English for territory; their confidence that God had opened up America for the exclusive occupancy of Puritans and Pilgrims; their contempt for the Indians, and utter disregard of their rights; made war with them inevitable, sooner or later. The earlier circumstances of the war have been related in the course of this series. Judged by all that can be gleaned from history, Philip seems to us, not the terrible monster which our first historians painted him, but a leader of consummate skill, in bringing together the unwieldy and mostly unwilling forces, and pushing forward other bands of other tribes to bear the brunt and dangers which his own plotting had brought upon them. He was doubtless hurried into open hostilities by the ill-advised action of his young warriors, long before even his own tribe were prepared for the consequences of such rash action. Thousands of acres of corn were hastily abandoned by his people in their precipitate flight. The Wampanoags, with all related and dependent bands, were overwhelmed by the unexpected forces sent against them, and were only saved from utter destruction, partly by the slow motion of the English troops under Capt. Henshaw, but mainly by the adroit and secret management of Philip in "wafting" his whole active force over the water, leaving only one hundred of their women and children, and escaping into the Nipmuck country. There he succeeded in eluding his pursuers, disposing his non-fighting people in various tribes, and, while holding a sufficient body-guard with himself to inspire respect and insure a hearing among the various Northern tribes, he had some of his ablest men visiting the more distant tribes, and everywhere persuading, bribing and threatening the chiefs into co-operation; and before the end of September he had practically all the Nipmucks, with the tribes of Massachusetts from the Merrimac to the Connecticut, pledged and already active in his service. But the impression from all known testimony is, that loyalty to Philip was inspired by fear rather than love or admiration. There is no proof known to me of any act of personal daring on his part, and I have not found any real evidence that he was personally engaged in any of the battles of the whole war, or that he led, in person, any attack or raid or ambushade. The rumors of that day, and the statements of later historians that he was present at certain fights, are not verified by evidence; and while there is little doubt that he directed and planned many of the most bloody and destructive attacks upon the settlements, he seems always to have kept at a safe distance from personal danger.

In December, 1675, Philip retired beyond the Connecticut, and

before the first of January was encamped some forty miles above Albany. It is probable that he was there negotiating with the Mohawks, by his agents, for their coöperation in the spring, and it is believed that he had assurance from the French of ammunition and arms, together with a body of Canadian Indians to re-inforce him. But there were many things which might well discourage the chief at this time, notwithstanding all these promises of help, and the fact that the most of the tribes were committed to the war.

Canonchet and his Narragansets had not yet committed themselves, nor seemed inclined to do so, which was very depressing, not only to the leaders, but to those other chiefs and tribes who in one way or another had committed themselves to his cause. And again there was disaffection among the tribes and the chiefs who had been involved in the war by Philip's arts; and one of these, a Sachem of the Northampton Indians, attempted to kill him and threatened that he would, declaring that Philip had involved them in the war and brought great trouble upon them. But soon a new and tremendous impulse was given to the Indian side, when the scouts and advanced parties of the Narragansets began to come among the tribes in their hasty retreat, bringing news of their defeat and the disastrous destruction of their great fortress. At first they were not believed, and were not received by the Nipmucks and their allies, because they had been looked upon as pledged by the English to remain neutral; and, as the denunciation of the great leader and his tribe for their indifference had been rife in all the great war councils of the adherents of Philip, so now these advance parties of their retreat were not believed, and when they came to the camp at Menameset, they were repulsed and their messenger shot at, being accused of treachery and of being friends of the English, although they brought English scalps and heads in proof of their story. But when larger parties came, bringing more proofs of the same kind, and furnished confirmation from various sources, there was great rejoicing by the Indians that they had been thus struck down by the English, whom they had been so slow to fight. Their rejoicing was equally great because of the immense acquisition of the strong tribe and valiant chief, the prestige of whose name and numbers turned all faltering and hesitation into willing and eager adherence. And as they had been last to break into hostility against the settlers, so their causes of hatred and desire for revenge were deeper.

If the true history of the course of treatment which the Narraganset Indians received at the hands of the English was written, there would be few more disgraceful chapters in all our annals. In 1637 the English had joined the Narragansets and Mohegins for the destruction of the Pequods, which being accomplished, they became the arbiters of the fate of the two allied tribes, making them agree that all questions as between them should be left to the English. Uncas,

chief of the Mohegins, was crafty, cowardly and treacherous; Miantonimoh, Sachem of the Narragansets, was frank, proud and brave. The one became the willing tool of the English; the other stood up in his manhood, and for his rights, as hereditary chief of a powerful tribe. But the noble qualities of the Narraganset chief, in the eyes of the colonial authorities, were no match for the crafty subserviency of Uncas; and when, in 1643 (after repeated unjust and unnecessary summons before the colonial courts, where he bore himself with such courage and dignity as to challenge the respect of even so sturdy a diplomat as Gov. Winthrop), he became involved in a fresh quarrel with Uncas, and fell into a snare of the Mohegin, and was made captive,—and, incredible as it seems to us now, the Commissioners of the United Colonies gave their sanction to his death, leaving it to the vengeful hate of Uncas to execute the decree. He was soon after beheaded by Uncas, in the brutal fashion of their laws. And thus Miantonimoh, probably the noblest and ablest Sachem of that day, was destroyed by the craft and deceit of Uncas, one of the most despicable characters known in our history. Mr. Hubbard thus concludes his account :

His head was cut off by Uncas, it being justly feared that there would never be any firm Peace, either betwixt the English and Narhagansets or betwixt the Narhagansets and Mohegins while Miantonimoh was left alive; however the Narhagansets have ever since that time borne an implacable Malice against Uncas and all the Mohegins, and for their sakes secretly against the English, so far as they durst discover it.

Mr. Hubbard, in explaining the causes of the war of 1675–7, recounts the relations of the Colonies with the Narragansets, and unconsciously draws for us a picture of arrogance, intolerance and selfishness, on the part of the English, which shows all the more plainly to us because he has such a clear conviction of the righteousness and justice of the colonial authorities. And he sums up at the last, bringing his account down to the beginning of 1675 :

Thus it is apparent upon what Terms the English stood with the Narrhagansets even since the cutting off Miantonimoh, their Chief Sachems Head by Uncas, it being done from the Advice and Counsel of the English, Anno, 1643.

At the beginning of "Philip's War" the Sachem of the Narragansets was Canonchet, son of Miantonimoh, an able, prudent and brave chief, who, though subjected to the tyranny of the colonies and followed by the constant enmity and falsehood of old Uncas, had been able to maintain peace with the English and their allies and to lead his people to prosperity and power; so that in 1675 he was by far the most powerful chief in New England, his fighting force being reckoned by some authorities as high as four thousand warriors. This estimate is probably double his actual force. It is said that he had encouraged Philip in the design to make a general

revolution against the colonies, and had promised to be ready in 1676 to enter such war with his whole available force. When, however, Philip's men precipitated hostilities by the murder of Sausamon, first, and then by open and active preparation, when justice was dealt to the murderers, Canonchet restrained his people and would not join Philip, but on the other hand would not assist in fighting him. When the troops had driven Philip and his people out from Mount Hope and held them, as they thought securely, in the Pocasset swamps, command came from Boston to march the army into the Narraganset country and demand a treaty at the point of the sword. That action seems to us now, as strategy, the height of stupidity; in spirit, the extreme of intolerance; and in result, entirely disastrous.

The only pretext for the invasion was the rumor that the Narragansets were harboring some of the women and children of those who were in arms. They restated the terms of a former treaty and demanded that the Sachem should take arms against Philip. The troops did not find Canonchet or any of his Counsellors or Chiefs, but only a few chance stragglers and old men unable to flee; and with these entirely irresponsible men, the officers made the treaty, the articles of which are remarkable only for their overweening conceit and intolerance, as well as the utter disregard of the rights of the Indians. Those poor creatures, whom the English forced to stand for Canonchet and his chiefs, had no more understanding of the big sounding sentences, framed perhaps by schoolmaster Henchman, or Mr. Dudley, than would an equal number of their native trees. Canonchet seems to have ignored this treaty entirely, and probably looked upon it as one more instance of the crafty influence of Uncas, who had hastened forward to assist the English at his earliest opportunity. And yet the Narraganset chief held aloof from Philip's active operations, evidently strengthening his own people with arms, ammunition and provisions, besides training his warriors and fortifying his country in several parts, as if determined to withstand any attack which might be made upon him.

Canonchet, thus standing aloof from participation in the war, and fearing nothing from the English who were constantly exercised against him by the wily arts of the Mohegins, was summoned to Boston where he appeared before the Council and bore himself with manly dignity, but was constrained by his situation and by the threats of the Council, to sign a treaty binding him to fight against the hostile Indians, and to seize and deliver up all those Indians who had taken part in the war and were now fled to his territories for shelter. This demand, so impossible for him to fulfil, he was induced to promise under the pressure of present danger, knowing well that a refusal to accede to their demands would be taken as confirmation of the charges against him, and would result in his detention and perhaps death. He had no idea of the sacredness of

his promise in this treaty, and his experience with the English in former treaties had not tended to give him exalted ideas of treaty promises. He was allowed to depart, having received the present of a coat, gaudily laced. We do not know how much effort he made to carry out his promise; we do know that he gathered his own people into the great fortress in the swamps, where, in December, he was overwhelmed by the Colonial army; in which battle great numbers of his people were destroyed.

The story of that fearful battle and its result to the English, and from their side, has been told. We know but little from the Indian side, and that only by accidental testimony. The English troops recruited at Wickford until the last of January, when, having been reinforced with fresh troops, they began the "Long March" through the Nipmuck Country, around to Marlborough and then to Boston.

Canonchet and his Narragansets had profited by the time of the army's inactivity; they returned to their ruined forts and buried their dead, cared for their wounded, and quietly sent their women and children with their sick and wounded out of harm's way. Then with a strong band of his fighting men as a rear-guard, Canonchet hung about the army, and closely observed all its motions, keeping out his scouts in every direction, with a line of posts and temporary camps along the whole line of the great "trail" even to the vicinity of Quabaog, where he soon established relations of alliance with the hostile tribes gathered at head quarters at Menameset. But just upon the eve of the advance of the troops, the Narragansets made a swift descent upon Warwick, where they burnt the buildings and corn and hay of Mr. Carpenter, and drove away near two hundred sheep, fifty large cattle, and fifteen horses of his, besides many cattle from a Mr. Harris. Our army pursued the Indians and had a sharp skirmish with their rear-guard, in which the Indians, though losing heavily, were able to divert the army and cover the retreat of a large body having in charge the cattle and supplies, with many of the women and children, who with many of the wounded and helpless had been encamped at the "Rocks," a very strong natural fortress, and hitherto deemed an impregnable retreat for the Indians. It is probable that the Indian leaders were somewhat disconcerted by the advance of the army both as to time and direction. The attack upon Mr. Carpenter was partly perhaps to turn the attention of the English in that direction. They succeeded in eluding the army, however, and were received into the great gathering of the tribes at their chief head quarters beyond Quabaog, after they had proved that they were really at war with the English, by bringing the usual evidence of English scalps and heads. There is evidence that old Canonicus, uncle of Canonchet, and many of the older chiefs of the Narragansets and their subject tribes, like Ninigret, chief of the Niantics, tried hard to restrain the warriors from open war. But the proud spirit of the younger Canonchet could not bow to the terrible blow

they had received, and while the old chiefs were allowed to negotiate with the English about a treaty, Canonchet and the younger men, with Quinnapin as an able second, were training and preparing for war. After the junction was made with the Northern tribes, Philip having been apprised of it and promised plenty of ammunition from the French, the Narragansets were added as a part of the great hostile force of Indians gathered in the western parts. Canonchet, according to the contemporary historian, Hubbard, became the real leader of the great unorganized army of the Indian tribes. His warriors far outnumbered the other tribes, besides being better trained and equipped, despite the severe losses they had met at the great fort. Mr. Hubbard wrote in 1676, about Canonchet upon the Connecticut in the winter and spring of 1675-6 :

For all the whole body of the Indians to the westward, trusting under the shadow of the aspiring Bramble; he took a kind of care of them upon himself. Wherefore foreseeing so many hundreds could not well subsist without planting; he propounded it in his Council, that all the West plantations upon the Connecticut River taken from the English, should this last summer be planted with Indian Corn; which was indeed in itself a very prudent consideration : To that End he resolved to venture himself with but thirty men (the rest declining it) to fetch a seed-corn from Seaconk, the next town to Mount Hope; leaving a body of men, not fewer than fifteen hundred to follow him or meet him about Seaconk the week after.

Mr. Hubbard's account continuing shows that the great chief pursuing his purpose came with his small company into his own territories, evidently with the design of recovering the large quantities of corn that were left stored in various places, and probably with the intention of planning a descent upon some of the southern plantations, as, on February 10th, their confederates, probably with their help, had swept down upon Lancaster, and ten days later upon Medfield. The intention of the Indians was evidently to distract the attention of the English by striking heavy blows in distant parts of the colonies. Connecticut was protected by the presence of the Mohegins and Pequods, whom the hostile Indians dreaded far more than the English, as they were their equals in wood craft and Indian tactics. After the attack upon Medfield, the attacking party advanced into Plymouth Colony, and probably formed a junction with another large body, doubtless with the purpose of concentrating a large force upon some of the larger towns, while smaller bodies kept making demonstrations here and there upon some smaller places. On February 25th they assaulted Weymouth, and burned seven or eight houses and barns. On March 12th they pushed even into Plymouth town and destroyed Clark's Garrison House, about two miles from Plymouth village, with eleven persons within it, plundered the provisions, a quantity of ammunition, and quite a sum of money, without a single man lost or wounded. Another party suddenly assaulted Warwick on March 16th or 17th, and destroyed

nearly all the houses, though the people escaped. Nearly all the detached houses in the Narraganset country were attacked and destroyed within a few weeks, and many of the large towns were threatened.

Plymouth Colony on February 8, 1675-6, had ordered a company of men to be impressed from the southern towns of the colony, and on the 29th the Council ordered "that the Souldiers now under Presse, from the Southern Towns, be at Plymouth on Wednesday the 8th of this Instant (March) in order unto a further March, and with them 20 or 30 of the Southern Indians, whoe together with the other whoe are under Presse to goe forth under the Command of Captain Michael Peirse and Lieftenant Samuell Fuller." The force probably got ready sometime in the middle of March. "Capt. Amos," a Wampanoag Indian who refused to follow with Philip and joined the friendly Indians, was in command of the Cape Indians in Capt. Peirse's command, and also acted as guide to the whole force. The command marched to Seekonk, where they arrived March 25th, and that day had a skirmish with a party of Indians in the vicinity, whom they pursued until night and supposed they had seriously damaged. Retiring to the Garrison House at Seekonk that night, early on the next day, Sunday, March 26th, the command, increased by several from Seekonk as guides, started again in pursuit of the enemy; and soon came across a few Indians who showed themselves in the distance and seemed to be trying to get away, but to be impeded by lameness. The English as usual were lured to rush forward, and in spite of former experiences and the warnings of the Indian allies, they soon found themselves in an ambuscade. Though not taken entirely by surprise by the old trick, which he believed his company was strong enough to fight through, Capt. Peirse was entirely deceived by the numbers of the Indians. He was a brave officer, and supposing he had a large body, perhaps twice his own number, at bay, he fearlessly attacked them even at great disadvantage. The Indians did not discover their full numbers until they had drawn the English across a small river, to some distance, when the attempt was evidently made to surround him. This forced him back upon the bank of the river, where he found himself attacked in the rear by a large party sent to cut him off. There is no doubt that Capt. Peirse was out-generalled, as well as vastly out-numbered, and, like the brave man that he was, he fought it out till he fell, with his brave men around him. Before leaving the garrison in the morning Capt. Peirse had sent a messenger to Capt. Edmunds of Providence, asking him to coöperate in an attack upon a large body of Indians then at Pawtucket Falls; the messenger however did not deliver his message until after the morning service (it being Sunday), when Capt. Edmunds indignantly berated him, declaring that it was then too late, as it proved. It is doubtful if a company from Providence could have saved Capt. Peirse and his

men after they crossed the river, as with their great numbers the Indians were able to beset every approach to the battle field, and choose their ground.

It is doubtful if during the war the English had come face to face in the open field with so large and so well organized a force of the Indians. Canonchet doubtless directed the operations in this campaign in person, and was assisted by the ablest chiefs and the best warriors, picked from all the tribes. It was a signal victory for the Indians and it confirmed Canonchet as the military leader before all others. Great stores of corn had been opened up and sent northward, with the plunder from the assaulted towns; heavy blows had been struck against the towns; the non-combatants, the infirm and helpless were safe in the vast forests stretching from beyond Quabaog to Canada, and were guarded by a strong reserve. He with his stout chiefs and their bands of loyal warriors were therefore free to carry the war into all parts of the colonies; the great expedition under Major Savage against Menamset, &c., had been completely frustrated, and now this brilliant victory, as they counted it, had carried terror and dismay to the southern towns. Canonchet may well have dreamed of reconquering his native dominions, and doubtless believed that he could now reëstablish his people there. Fearless by nature and feeling secure from invasion, he was waiting, at his head quarters not far from Pawtucket, with but few guards, having out large scouting parties scouring the country; and a very large part of his force had doubtless gone to the northward, with forage, plunder, and the dead and wounded from the battle with Capt. Peirse, of whom the number was probably more than one hundred. The loss on the part of the English was fifty-two of the English and eleven of the friendly Indians. From the letter of Rev. Noah Newman, of Rehoboth, written the day after the battle, we get the names of those killed of Capt. Peirse's company.

From Scituate, 15 Slain.

Capt. Pierce,	Samuel Russell,	Benjamin Chittenden,
John Lothrope,	Gershom Dodson,	Samuel Pratt,
Thomas Savery,	Joseph Wade,	William Wilcome,
Jeremiah Barstow,	John Ensign,	Joseph Cowen,
Joseph Perry,	John Rowse,	_____?

Marshfield, 9 Slain.

Thomas Little,	John Eams,	Joseph White,
John Burrows,	Joseph Phillips,	Samuel Bump,
John Low,	More _____?	John Brance.

Duxbury, 4 Slain.

John Sprague,	Benjamin Soal,	Thomas Hunt,
	Joshua Fobes.	

Sandwich, 5 Slain.

Benjamin Nye,	Daniel Bessey,	Caleb Blake,
John Gibbs,	Stephen Wiug.	

Barnstable, 6 Slain.

Lieut. Fuller,	John Lewis,	Eleazer Clapp,
Samuel Linnet,	Samuel Childs,	Samuel Bereman.

Yarmouth, 5 Slain.

John Matthews,	John Gage,	William Gage,
Henry Gage,	Henry Gold.	

Eastham, 3 Slain.

Joseph Nessefield,	John Walker,	John M (torn off.)
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(Rehoboth?), 2 Slain.

John Fitz, Jr.,	John Miller, Jr.
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The paper is much worn and multilated, so that the names of several are lost. It is said that Miller and Fitz were of Rehoboth, and probably others. Seven or eight names are needed, in addition, to make up the fifty-five.

NO. XXIX.

PHILIP, CANONCHET AND THEIR INDIANS.

AFTER the battle with Capt Peirse (March 26, 1676) the Indians made a furious attack upon Rehoboth upon the 28th day, burning some forty houses and nearly as many barns. Upon the 29th they appeared at Providence, and though the aged Roger Williams, the life-long friend of the southern tribes, went forth to meet them, unarmed, and leaning upon his staff, he was met by their old men, and warned by them that it would not be safe, even for him, to venture amongst them; and they said also that there were many "stranger Indians" mixed with their tribes. He was thus forced to retire to the garrison-house with the rest of the inhabitants, while the Indians advanced and burned some thirty houses of the town. Robert Beers was slain, it is said, at this time. The Indians seem after that to have broken up into small prowling bands which scouted upon the borders of the outlying towns; making an assault here and there as opportunity seemed to offer,—April 9th at Billerica; April 19th at Andover, where they killed Joseph Abbot and captured his younger brother Timothy, burned the house of Mr. Faulkner and wounded Roger Marks; while another band the same day burned the deserted houses at Marlborough, and still another party appeared at Hingham and Weymouth, where they killed two men, one at each place.

On April 20th they renewed the attack upon Hingham, where they burned the houses of Israel Hobart, Anthony Sprague, Joseph Jones and Nathaniel Chubbuck. On April 21st the main body of the Indians in Massachusetts swept in around Sudbury, of which attack detailed account has been given heretofore. Account has been given also of other attacks and operations in the Northern parts.

In the meantime the Connecticut people were bestirring themselves, and had quietly gathered some eighty of the friendly Indians of the Mohegins and Pequods, and a band of the Niantics, whose Sachem, Ninigret, although a Narraganset, had remained neutral, in appearance at least. Forty-seven English soldiers were joined with these, under command of Capt. George Denison of Stonington, and Capt. James Avery of New London, Connecticut. The Niantics were led

by the chief Catapazat; the Pequods by Casassimamon; the Mohegins by Oneco, son of Uncas. This force, apparently unknown to the scouts of Canonchet, approached Pawtucket, and captured one of his guards in the vicinity, with two women, one of whom confessed that Canonchet was near at hand with but a small guard. With this news, confirmed by their scouts soon afterwards, the force pushed on and soon came in sight of the wigwam of the Sachem whom they sought. When the quick ear of the chief caught the sound of an approaching body of men he sent two of his attendants to the top of a hill near by to ascertain the cause, and these not returning but fleeing for their lives, two more were sent, one of whom returned with the word that the enemy was close upon him. He seized his gun and sought to escape, but in his flight he came near a party of the Niantics, who gave chase so closely that he was unable to elude them, and finally was forced to cross a small stream where entering hastily his foot slipped on a small stone and he fell, wetting his gun which was thus rendered useless, and he was left defenceless; and at the mishap, he confessed afterwards, "his heart turned within him and he became as a rotten stick, void of strength." Monopoide, a Pequod Indian, was nearest him and overtook him within thirty rods of the river, and captured him without any attempt at resistance. The pursuit was thus strenuous, because the chief had been obliged in his flight to cast off his blanket, and then his lace-coat which he had of late received from the English, and then his belt of wampum, and was thus recognized.

But though helpless and captive, he was still the proud and unconquered chief; and when young Robert Stanton, an interpreter, and among the first of the English to come up, began to question him, he turned away haughtily, saying, "You much child, no understand matters of war; let your brother or your chief come, him I will answer." Even Mr. Hubbard was struck by his noble bearing and heroism, and in his "Postscript," written after the first part of his history was printed, compares him to one of the old Romans, Attilius Regulus, since he would not accept of his own life upon compliance with the English. The condition seems to have been that he would send one of his Counsellors commanding his people to yield to the English, and thus save his life. His resolution was not to be shaken by any threats or bribes; and when he was told of his sentence of death, he replied that he "liked it well, that he should die before his heart was soft, or he had spoken anything unworthy of himself." He was taken to Stonington and there shot by Oneco, son of Uncas, his life-long enemy, and two Sachems of the Pequods, of equal rank.

There is no nobler figure in all the annals of the American Indians than Canonchet, son of Miantonomoh, Sachem of the Narragansets. As he had become the real head and life of the Indians at war, so his capture was the death-blow to their hopes.

Had Canonchet lived to carry out the plans already entered upon, it is probable that the result of the campaign of the spring and summer would have been far different. As it was, the great body of Indians still for some time held together, congregated upon the Connecticut about and above the "Falls," where Capt. Turner and his company found them and attacked them on May 18th and 19th, 1676, as has already been related.

Of all the hostile tribes in this war, historians have assumed that Philip was the leader; and there is little doubt that he was the manager as well as the instigator of the war. But there were many powerful chiefs now engaged, and they were coming to realize that the destruction and plundering of a few villages of the settlers, here and there, resulted in provoking their vengeance, and in forcing the Indians themselves to withdraw from their old homes into swamps and mountains and remote places. There was disaffection among the chiefs, as they found the situation of their tribes growing more and more precarious, and felt the same pressure which had already driven the Wampanoags, Narragansets and many of the Nipmucks from their homes back upon the territory of the Northern tribes, where they were now apparently preparing to settle for the present and were already utilizing the fishing-places, hunting-grounds and corn-fields. The war party, however, was greatly in the majority, being composed of those who were actuated by desire for revenge, having lost all; those young and impetuous, who believed that it was possible to destroy the English utterly in the way of gaining glory in war according to their ambition, and those who saw no other way left than to fight the war through for their lives. Philip was enabled to maintain some show of control over these chiefs, as it was he who had negotiated with each tribe and managed in securing for them supplies of ammunition and arms; while he was also the authority to whom the French were promising supplies and men, for the reduction of the plantations in the coming summer. No one of those now left dared to lead a revolt against Philip, and his personal adherents were in every camp and close to every chief, so that plots against him were sure to bring immediate vengeance upon the plotters.

The Narragansets, after the death of Canonchet, were drawn more under the authority of Philip, as several of the most notable warriors among the Narraganset chiefs had been his adherents from the start.

Pomham, or Pumham, whose territory lay next to Philip's domains, was a Narraganset chief of that part of Narraganset called Shawomet, embracing what is now Warwick. He was considered by the English the ablest soldier of the Narragansets in his day. Although an old man, he was active in all the operations of Philip's war. His sons also were brave leaders. He was killed, desperately fighting for his life, in Dedham woods July 25, 1676, by a party of

English and friendly Indians under Capt. Samuel Hunting. At the same time his son was captured, whom Mr. Hubbard describes as "a very likely Youth, and one whose Countenance would have bespoke Favour for him had he not belonged to so bloody and barbarous an Indian as his Father was." The party of Indians consisted of some thirty-five, all of whom are said to have been "his relations and subjects."

Quinnapin, a near relative of Canonichus, early espoused the cause of Philip; he married Weetamoo, as explained above; was said to have been Canonchet's Lieutenant in the "Fort Fight," and a leader in the attack upon Lancaster in February, 1675-6. He purchased Mrs. Rowlandson from the Indians who captured her, and from her account we learn something of his character, habits and family. He had two wives besides Weetamoo. When the league of the tribes in the West was broken up, Quinnapin remained with Philip, and returned with him to the southern parts. In August, 1676, he was captured, and upon the 24th of that month was tried at Newport, R. I., by a Court-Martial, held by the Governor and Assistants, and with other captives was condemned to death; on the 25th he was shot.

Pessacus or *Mossup*, a Narraganset, a nephew of Canonichus and a very influential counsellor of Canonchet, remained with a part of the tribe in the northern parts, and was finally killed beyond the Pascataqua river in 1677, by the Mohawks, it is said. There were other notable chiefs of the Narragansets who took part in the war, *Potok*, *Quaqualh*, "Stone-Wall-John," and others, but the first three were the principal.

Of the Wampanoags, Philip's chief men were, *Tuspaquin*, Sachem of Assowomset, who married Anie, as she was called by the English, sister of Philip and daughter of Massasoit. Tuspaquin was called also "The Black Sachem," and he was at the head of the large party of Indians who, in the Spring of 1676, hung about the towns of Plymouth Colony and made successful raids against Seitate, Bridgewater and Plymouth. He was one of the last to hold out after Philip's death; and when the wandering bands were reduced to a few handfuls here and there, he was induced to come in and surrender by the promise of Mr. Church, and by the capture of his family, who were well treated and taken to Plymouth. Mr. Church promised him that his life and the lives of his family should be spared; but when he came in and surrendered, Mr. Church was not at Plymouth, and Tuspaquin was immediately tried and executed.

Annawon. This old chief appears to have been the most intimate and trusted counsellor of Philip. He was close to his chief at the time of his death, and led the band safely out of the swamp. He was captured soon after with the remnants of the Wampanoags, at a place within the present limits of Rehoboth, and surrendered under promise of "good quarter." He gave up the treasure and "royal-

ties" of Philip which he had in charge, to Mr. Church. He was executed at Plymouth at the same time with Tuspaquin.

Totoson, son of the celebrated chief "Sam Barrow," was another of the "great captains" of Philip who survived him awhile, only to be destroyed by Mr. Church and his mixed company of English and Indians.

Of other chiefs who were important actors in the war were the various sachems of the local tribes, some of whom have received mention in the course of this history. In the time of Philip's war the interior tribes of Massachusetts were known under the general term of Nipmucks or Nipnets, while it is probable that the Indians themselves understood that name to include the tribe which lived in the territory included in Worcester county south of Worcester city, and probably beyond the State line, and (as Rev. J. H. Temple thinks) upon the ponds in the present towns of "Dudley, Webster, Douglas, Sutton, Oxford, Auburn, &c." The name Nipnet means "fresh water," and is supposed to have distinguished these tribes from the "Coast Indians." The tribes living along the Connecticut and its branches were called "River Indians," and included the Agawams, Waranokes, Nonotucks, Pacomptucks and Squakheags. The Quabaug Indians lived in the territory about the old town of Brookfield. The Nashaways had their chief village at Lancaster, and included the large villages at "Washakum Ponds" and about "Mount Wachusett."

Of these tribes the most prominent leaders in the war were *Mattoonius*, a Nipnet; *Monoco* and "Sagamore-Sam," Nashaways; *Mawtamp* of Quabaug, and *Pakashokag*, called "John of Pakachoog."

Upon Philip's realizing the growing disaffection of the River Indians, and made aware also of their negotiations with the English to betray him, he left the Connecticut with his own tribe and such of the Narragansets as still followed with him, and came to the parts about Wachusett, where his force was increased by many of the Quabaugs and Nashaways, under Sagamore Sam and Mawtamp (Muttatump). But this force was by no means manageable, for any length of time, and only when being organized for active service. Dissensions and jealousies began to arise, while the English were preparing for vigorous measures of pursuit; and about the first of June, 1676, Philip, with his Wampanoags and Narragansets, went away towards their old home. Philip and his tribe went to Pokanoket, or Mount Hope; while the Narragansets passed into their own country.

The English became aware of his presence in his old place early in July, and thereafter he was constantly pursued by parties sent out from Boston and Plymouth, but he could not be found. The Narragansets in the meantime were being pursued and captured and destroyed by the Connecticut forces, with their Mohegin and Pequod

allies. The principal exploit of these forces was the massacre of the people of the "Old Queen," Magnus (known also as the "Sunk Squaw," and also as "Quiapen"), on July 2d. Within a few days more than two hundred of the enemy came in and surrendered to the Plymouth authorities; and between that and the close of July there was a constant series of captures and surrenders of the Indians, so that Philip was left almost alone, even his wife and young son having been captured by the English, mostly the mixed company under Mr. Church. About the 7th of August a small company went out from Taunton and captured a party of the Indians of Awashonks, "Squaw Sachem" of the Sogkonate. Awashonks herself, trying to escape upon a small raft across the river, was drowned, and her body being found a few days after, her head was severed, and being placed upon a pole was paraded in the street at Taunton.

Philip at last, being hunted down by the English and Indians on every side, retired, with a few of his staunchest friends, to his old retreat in a swamp at Mount Hope. Mr. Church was then in command of a scouting company of English and Indians from Plymouth, and having passed over from Pocasset, where he left most of his company, to Rhode Island to Major Sanford's, he there heard from the Major and Capt. Golding, of Philip's condition, as reported by a deserter, whose brother Philip had killed for advising surrender. This Indian offered to pilot the English to Philip's hiding-place. Major Sanford and Capt. Golding both offered to go with his company to assist in Philip's capture. They were soon back at "Trip's Ferry" with the rest of his company under Capt. John Williams of Scituate. Having arrived at the swamp, piloted by the deserter, Mr. Church requested Capt. Golding to lead the skirmishing party, led by the pilot, into the swamp to "beat up the quarters" of Philip. This the Captain accepted and drew out his allotted men. Church instructed him to creep forward as silently as possible in order to encompass and surprise the Indians, but when discovered to shout and make all possible noise, as the orders to the various ambuscades were to fire upon all who came towards them silently. Mr. Church then placed the rest of the men with most of the Indians under Capt. Williams so as to encompass all ways of escape from the swamp, placing an Englishman and an Indian together. Hardly had these arrangements been completed when a musket-shot, followed by a whole volley, rang through the swamp, and then the general onset began. The Indians were taken completely by surprise, and Philip, springing hastily from his sleep under the rude open wigwam, seized his powder-horn and gun and started from the hillside where he had made his camp, for the deeper security of the swamp. But in his flight he came face to face with two of Mr. Church's men, and, the Englishman's musket missing fire, the Indian immediately shot the great chieftain through the breast, so that he fell forward upon his face with his gun beneath him, in the water of the swamp. The

Indian who killed Philip was named Alderman, and is said to have been the same who betrayed his hiding-place. When this Indian ran to Mr. Church with the news of his achievement, he was told to keep it secret until after the rest of the enemy had been beaten out of the swamp, or captured or killed. Their retreat and escape from the English was ably conducted by old Annawon, Philip's chief Sachem. When all the company had gathered about the place where Philip's party had bivouacked, Mr. Church told them the great news of Philip's death, and presently ordered some of the Indians to drag him out of the swamp to the solid land. There he was chopped in quarters and beheaded, and left unburied; his head and one hand were given to Alderman as a reward, and in Mr. Church's account, it is said that he got "many a penny" by showing the hand.

Such was the end of Philip of Mount Hope, one of the most remarkable characters in all American history, whose biography has never yet been adequately written, and who, although by no means a hero, or a character to be admired, was without doubt a wise and skilful leader, and more dreaded by the colonists than any other man before or after him.

His death was heard of with universal rejoicing in the colonies, and was considered as the practical close of the war.

NO. XXX.

CHRISTIAN INDIANS OF MR. ELIOT AND GEN. GOOKIN.

IN this history reference has constantly been made to the Christian or Friendly Indians, and in some cases comments have been made as to their relation to the war, their personal services, etc. It seems fitting that some more general and definite reference should be made to their services and their relation to the Colony, as well as to their place in public opinion.

In order to a clear understanding, it may be well to refer briefly to the origin of the movement which resulted in "christianizing" a part of the Indians in the New England Colonies. The experiment was inaugurated by the zealous efforts of Rev. John Eliot, who came to New England in the ship "Lyon, William Peirce Master," which arrived in Boston, November 3, 1631. He was born in Nasing, Essex, England, in 1604, "of godly parents." He was a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, where he received his B.A. degree in 1622.

Upon his arrival in Boston, Mr. Eliot was engaged to officiate in the church in the absence of Mr. Wilson, the pastor, then in England; and next year, his friends, to whom he was partly engaged before leaving England, having arrived and settled at Roxbury, he was called to their new church, and there ordained as their teacher in 1632. His affianced wife arrived in the summer of that year, and they were married in October. Mr. Elliot soon evinced deep interest in the welfare of the Indians, and studied their language and habits, and especially their habits of thought in the direction of religion. He went much amongst them, and, in order to a closer study of their language, hired one of good intelligence and spirit to live at his house and assist in his studies. This Indian was Job Nesutan, and he was Mr. Eliot's chief assistant, but was killed at the beginning of Philip's War, while serving with the English against Philip, though he was then eighty-six years old. Mr. Eliot was eminent for his learning, especially in Hebrew, but was more eminent for his deep piety and self-consecration to his chosen work.

He was particularly impressed with the great opportunity presented by the Indian tribes for the spread of the gospel of Christ. He marked with great concern the general indifference of the English to this opportunity for Christian work, but doubled his own endeavors to achieve the great purpose. There is no more glorious achievement in our annals, both for its heroic spirit and its vast labor, than his mastering of the Indian language and his translation of the Bible into the Indian tongue. In the meantime the Indians in the neighborhood of the settlements had lived mostly at peace with the English, who had bought their lands, peltry, and labor, and paid in "truck," cheap clothes, fire-arms, "fire-water," etc., for the most part carrying on with them a system of deception and extortion which we in our reverence for the Puritans and Pilgrims can hardly realize as possible. But we remember the confidence of their religious purpose and their strong faith that God meant this country for them, and to "give the lands of the heathen for their inheritance;" and they looked upon the Indians, as the Jews upon the Gentiles of old, as necessary impediments to their onward course, to be used for their own advantage, when possible, or to be pushed aside at will. But all did not hold this opinion; and there were many among the leaders in all the colonies who from the first regarded the rights of the Indians, and sought to help them; and many believed that they should be treated with justice under the laws, their rights maintained, and their spiritual welfare secured by the efforts of the Courts and the Churches.

Many letters had been written by the settlers to their friends in England, about the Indians and their habits, and also of the remarkable success of the French Jesuits in converting them to their religion; all which had the effect of stirring up a strong sentiment in England towards the evangelization of the Indians in New England by the settlers. But greatest of all influences tending to this purpose were the letters and tracts of Mr. Eliot. Several of the tracts are still preserved, and No. 1 was reprinted in 1865 for Joseph Sabin, New York. This "Tract I." was first printed in 1643, with the following title:

"New England's First Fruits in respect—
 First of the

{	Conversion of Some
{	Conviction of divers
{	Preparation of Sundry

 of the Indians."

The remainder of the title referred to the "Colledge at Cambridge," etc.

Later three other tracts appeared, viz.:

TRACT II.* The Day breaking if not the Sun rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New England. London, 1647.

* Reprinted in Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xxiv. 1-23.

TRACT III. The clear sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians of New England. Thomas Shepard, London, 1648.

TRACT IV. The glorious progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians of New England. Edward Winslow, London, 1649.

There were eleven tracts in all, the last issued in 1671.

In 1646 the General Court of Massachusetts passed an Act for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians, and recommending elders of the churches to take measures for carrying this into effect.

In England, great interest was shown in the work, and Mr. Eliot received pecuniary assistance for establishing schools among the natives. Oliver Cromwell and other high dignitaries were greatly interested, and July 27, 1649, an Ordinance was passed by the "Long Parliament," forming "A Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." Nearly £12,000 in money was collected and invested by this corporation for the purposes set forth; and Commissioners and a Treasurer were appointed in New England to receive and expend the income, chiefly in Massachusetts, near Boston, but a portion in somewhat distant parts and in New York. Upon the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660, this corporation was annulled, but by the extreme exertions of Hon. Robert Boyle, the company was re-established with a royal charter, and kept up its work. The work was chiefly done by itinerant teachers, preachers and missionaries, and was kept up in various stations until the Revolution, after which, by the charter, it had to be transferred to the Provinces.*

On October 28th, 1646, Mr. Eliot, by appointment, met a small congregation of Indians at Nonantum, now within the city of Newton, and preached to them in their own tongue. The meeting was held in the wigwam of one named Waban, who was converted afterwards and became ruler of the "Praying Village" at Natick. Mr. Eliot labored thereafter unceasingly in behalf of the Indians, and chiefly through his wisdom, fidelity and devotion, the Christian Indian communities attained the size and efficiency with which they were found at the beginning of Philip's war, their relations to which we started mainly to consider.

From Major General Gookin's "History of the Christian Indians" we learn nearly all that is known of their numbers, progress, conditions, sufferings and services during Philip's war. In the beginning he says:

The Christian Indians in New England have their dwellings in sundry

* Interesting details concerning this society will be found in the NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, vol. 36, pages 157-161, 371-6; and vol. 39, pages 299-300. The society, which is still in existence, is now called the "New England Society." Two societies incorporated since, and both still in existence, have similar names, and are likely to be confounded with it, namely, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," incorporated in 1701; and "The Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America," incorporated in 1787. See above mentioned "REGISTER," vol. 39, pp. 182-3, and vol. 42, pp. 329-30.

jurisdictions of the English Colonies, and that at a considerable distance from each other; more particularly,

1st. Upon the Islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, in which two islands there inhabit many hundreds of them that visibly profess the Gospel. These Indians have felt very little of this war comparatively; for the English that dwell upon those Islands have held a good correspondence with these Indians all the time of the war, as they did before the war began, etc.

Gen. Gookin says these "Island Indians" were accustomed to come up into the colonies to work in the summer for the settlers, and thus to supply themselves with clothing and other things which were very scarce upon the islands. When the war broke out these were all sent back to their homes with great loss, "because the English were so jealous, and filled with animosity against all Indians without exception." These, therefore, had no part in the war.

2nd. "Another considerable number of Christian Indians live within the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, called the Cape Indians."

He speaks of the assistance which these rendered the English in the war, but says that the English in the Plymouth colony were slow to employ them, being suspicious of them, as they were related to the Wampanoags, but there was no evidence of bad faith on their part in any instance. These, like the Island Indians, were outside active participation, except those who served with the English.

He mentions 3dly the small number of those belonging to the Mohegans, and living at New Warwick, Connecticut, who had been taught by Rev. James Fitch, pastor of the church at Norwich. There were about forty of these Indians who had become Christians in profession, through the efforts of Mr. Fitch; while Uncas their chief, and his son Oneko, were bitterly opposed to the teaching and preaching among the Mohegins. But all were on friendly terms with the colonies, and served very gladly whenever the service would lead them against the Narragansets, their ancient implacable enemies. In their character as "Christian" Indians, they did not, therefore, attain much prominence.

The chief body of the Christian Indians were 4thly, those within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Colony, "who were taught and instructed in the Christian faith by that indefatigable servant of God and minister of Christ, Mr. John Eliot;" who, Gen. Gookin declares (1676-7), has labored among all the praying Indians in New England more or less for thirty years. Of the Massachusetts Christian Indians he speaks in full, these having been under his special superintendence, and having been more concerned in the war than any or all the rest.

There were seven villages of these Christian Indians, all to the south of the Merrimac River, viz. :

Wamesit, included in old Chelmsford, but now the city of Lowell.
Nashobah, within the present town of Littleton.

Okkokonimesit, or Marlborough.

Hassannamesit, or Grafton.

Makunkokoag, now Hopkinton.

Natick, which has preserved its name to the present.

Punkapog or Pakomit, which is now partly in Canton, Mass.

These were the "Old Praying" villages, so-called, in distinction from some half dozen villages among the Nipmucks called the "New Praying Towns," which latter however were just beginning, and soon fell off from the English when their tribes joined in the war.

A few of these only came to Marlborough and joined the Christian Indians there, and remained until forced away by their tribes in hostility. These "Praying towns" were so located that they might have formed a line of defence for the greater part of the Massachusetts towns upon the frontier; and it was proposed and urged by those who knew most about these Christian Indians, that the forts, which in most cases they had built for themselves under the direction of the English, should now be garrisoned by them, with English officers and about one third of the garrison English soldiers; and that these should be improved in scouting and guarding the frontiers. There is little doubt that this course would have saved most of the destruction and bloodshed which took place in Massachusetts during the war; but there was a furious popular prejudice against all Indians, and the majority of the population had no confidence in any attempt to employ Indians in military movements.

The Mohegans and Pequods, under Uncas, were in alliance with the English, and were bound to them by their hostility to the Narragansets, and though not Christian Indians, serve to illustrate the wisdom of the plan proposed in Massachusetts by Gen. Gookin. For the hostile Indians never dared to invade the Connecticut Colony to any notable extent, and burned only one small (and already deserted) village, during the whole war.

In the beginning of the war, in the campaign at Mount Hope, we have seen that the Mohegans with a few of the Christian Indians from Natick did all the execution which was wrought upon Philip in his retreat.

But to begin properly. John Sassamon, whom Gen. Gookin calls the first martyr of the Christian Indians, was a Wampanoag, but, Increase Mather says, was born in Dorchester, and his parents both lived there and died as Christian Indians. He had come under the influence and instruction of Mr. Eliot, who knew him from a child, and he was evidently one of the brightest and ablest of the Christian Indians. He could read and write well, and had translated portions of the Bible into the Indian language. He had been employed as a teacher of the Christian Indians at the Natick village. But this method of life seems to have been somewhat monotonous to

his uneasy spirit, and upon some dissatisfaction he went away, first to Alexander, and afterwards joined Philip at Mount Hope, where, in 1662, he is found as Philip's secretary and interpreter. But he did not remain there long, as we find him back among the Naticks, probably through the influence of Mr. Eliot; he there made a public profession of religion, was baptized and became one of the most gifted of the ministers of the Christian Indians. It would seem that openly there was no great breach with his countrymen on account of his returning to the English, because we afterwards find him mingling freely amongst Philip's people. In 1673 he is at Namasket, now Middleborough, as preacher to the people, whose chief was "Old Watuspaquin" or "Tuspaquin," whose daughter Assowetough (or as the English called her, "Betty"), Sassamon had married. It would seem that the old chief encouraged the teaching of the Gospel, as he gave by deed a tract of land to Sassamon, upon which to settle. Sassamon, in going about and mingling with Philip's people, found that a plan was formed for the extermination of the English settlers, and that many tribes were being solicited to join in it by Philip's agents. This discovery Sassamon revealed to the Governor of Plymouth, at the same time assuring him that if Philip should know of his revealing it, he would immediately order him to be killed by any of his people who should meet him. Tardy notice was taken of this information by the authorities at Plymouth, although afterwards it was communicated to the authorities of Massachusetts, where much concurrent evidence had been received from various sources. But finally it was deemed advisable to take action, and the Governor of Plymouth sent and had Philip and several of his councillors examined. This examination, while it did not prove the charge against Philip, left a strong impression of his guilt and showed him that Sassamon had betrayed their plot to the English, and he was immediately condemned to death as a traitor. The sentence was carried out by the method of a cowardly assassination, while the victim was fishing through the ice, upon Assawomset Pond. A few of Philip's men came upon him there, and after a little apparent friendly conversation, attacked and overcame him, and after knocking him on the head they put his body into the hole and under the ice, leaving his gun and hat upon the ice as though he had fallen in accidentally. His body was recovered by his people, and although they found his neck broken and bruises about his head, the body was buried and no stir was made about the affair. But an Indian called David, a friend of Sassamon, imparted his suspicions to some of the English at Taunton; and they to Gov. Winslow, who, recalling what Sassamon had said, caused an investigation, upon which it was found, when the body had been exhumed, that he had been indeed murdered; and afterwards an Indian named Patuckson appeared, who had from a neighboring hill witnessed the murder but had not dared to

declare it. This witness also identified the murderer as Tobias, one of the councillors of Philip, who was tried at Plymouth, March, 1674-5, and that session bound over to the next and was bailed out by Tuspaquin, who gave bonds for a hundred pounds by a mortgage on his lands at Namasket. He was brought up again at the June session, and with him now were two more accused of the crime as accomplices; these were Tobias's son, Wampapaquan, and Mat-tashunannamoo. At this trial four Indians were added as advisers to the twelve English jurymen, and concurred in the verdict of murder against the three prisoners. The indictment declares that the crime was committed upon January 29, 1674-5. Two of the prisoners were executed June 8, 1675, at Plymouth. The son of Tobias, for some reason, was reprieved for one month, but having made full confession that the two already executed had done the deed, himself looking on, was shot within the month. It was this conviction and execution of the murderers of Sassamon undoubtedly which precipitated the war at least a year before Philip had planned its beginning. In the meantime several of the Christian Indians had expressed their belief that a plan was on foot for the general destruction of the English in the colonies; and among these was Waban, a Nipmuck, at whose tent, amongst that people, Mr. Eliot had first preached to them in their own tongue. Waban himself having been the first of his tribe to be converted, became afterwards the principal ruler of the Christian Indians at Natick. In April, 1675, Waban came to Gen. Gookin and warned him of Philip's intention shortly to attack the English; and again in May he came and urged the same, and said that "just as soon as the trees were leaved out" the Indians would fall upon the towns. Very little attention was paid to these reports by the Governor and Council at Boston, and within a month the despatch came from Plymouth that the war had begun, account of which has been given.

When the forces marched out to Mount Hope first, June 24th, 1675, Capt. Prentice took with him as guides three Christian Indians, viz.: James Quanapohit; Thomas Quanapohit, *alias* "Rumneymarsh," his brother; and Zachary Abram, all of whom, in that campaign, acquitted themselves bravely and well, despite the bitter hostility of many of the officers and soldiers, and their threats and open insults. If our soldiers had not been blinded by the popular clamor against all Indians, they would have seen in their experience with these scouts, and in the success of Uncas and his Indians a few days later, the utter uselessness of the noisy and clumsy infantry tactics of the English, in Indian warfare, whenever it was a march of invasion or pursuit. The enemy were always apprised of the coming of the troops for miles ahead. The Connecticut officers and soldiers were readier to learn of their Indian allies, and were thus saved from many disasters and secured many substantial victories. It is related that in one of their marches into

the enemies' country, one of the English soldiers wore squeaking shoes, and the Indian leader insisted upon his changing them for his own moccasins, while he carried the shoes slung at his back, and himself went barefoot. Another of the soldiers wore a pair of leather breeches, which being dry made a rustling noise, which the Indian objected to and refused to proceed until the breeches were either removed or soaked in water to prevent the rustling. The chief element of success in Indian warfare was the secrecy and silence of their movements. We can appreciate therefore the immense advantage the early and general use of the friendly Indians would have brought to the forces of the colony. It is probable that nearly all the fearful disasters which came to our troops and the many defeats and disappointments which came to their plans, might have been prevented but for the stupid prejudice and distrust, which shut out and contemptuously ignored the willing services of the Christian Indians. The Governor and Council and most of the men in authority, and many of the chief officers like Gen. Denison, Major Willard, Major Savage, Capts. Prentice and Henschman, favored the use of friendly Indians; indeed the Governor, July 2, 1675, gave orders to Gen. Gookin to raise a company of the Christian Indians, for service at Mount Hope. In pursuance of this, one third of the able-bodied men in all the villages were mustered and amounted to a company of fifty-two. This company was conducted to Mount Hope by Capt. Johnson and a small escort, and there delivered to the commander of the forces. All served twenty-five days, when one half their number were dismissed, the rest remaining until the close of the campaign, as seen under the chapter devoted to Capt. Henschman's operations. All acquitted themselves satisfactorily to their officers. Some of them proved their sincerity in the barbarous way of that day; for it is told that John Hunter, Thomas Quanapohit, and Felix, brought home to Gov. Leverett four of the scalps of enemies slain by their hands in this campaign; and Job Nesutan, the principal assistant of Mr. Eliot in his translation of the Bible, was killed. There can be little doubt that if in the pursuit of Philip into the Nipmuck country, the counsel of the Natick Indians had been heeded by Capt. Henschman, Philip and most of his company would have been destroyed, the Mohegans having on the previous day sorely pressed them and driven them into swamps.

In the negotiations attempted by Capt. Hutchinson with Quabaug Indians, three of the Christian Indians were sent as guides and interpreters, viz.: George Memecho, and the brothers Joseph and Sampson, sons of old Robin Petuhanit deceased. These all strongly advised against the advance, and warned the English, but were in the fight with Capt. Wheeler's men. George was captured and afterwards escaped, bringing back an intelligent account of the situation of the hostile tribes; and it is probable that the entire force under Capt. Wheeler would have been destroyed but for the

fidelity and skill of Joseph and Sampson in conducting the retreat and avoiding the ambush set by the enemy. But although this was known and vouched for by the officers, the popular feeling was so bitter that these two were threatened and insulted by the soldiers, so that in utter discouragement they fell away to the enemy at Hassanamesit, and Sampson was slain in fight by some friendly Indian scouts at Watchuset; while Joseph having been captured was sold into slavery at Jamaica, by some Boston merchants, but afterwards by Mr. Eliot's importunity brought back again, though never released.

Finally, Aug. 30, 1675, the Governor and Council yielding to popular prejudice, against their own better judgment, decreed the disbandment of all Christian Indian companies in service; and that they be restrained from all usual commerce with the English and confined to their five villages; and no one of them to travel more than one mile from the centre of such village except in the company of English or on service. The five villages designated were Natick, Punquapog, Nashobah, Wamesit, and Hassanamesit. All Christian Indians were to repair to these villages. If any shall be found breaking these rules, the English are at liberty to shoot them down as enemies or arrest them. It was recommended by the Court that several of the English should reside in each village, and this was earnestly desired by the Indians themselves, for their own protection; but few could be found who were willing to withstand popular prejudice, as all who expressed sympathy or confidence towards these Indians were at once denounced as fools or traitors. Maj. Gen. Gookin, and even the saintly Eliot were loaded with reproaches and threats, and insulted in the streets because of their advocacy of the rights of the Christian Indians. John Watson, senior, and Henry Prentiss, of Cambridge, were with the Naticks for twelve weeks and gave certificate of their orderly, discreet and religious conduct. Although Watson had gone among them bitterly opposed to them, and sharing the common opinion against them, he was entirely converted by his experience, and declared it, though incurring much popular indignation by that course. Chief among the officers who led the hostile fury was Capt. Mosely in Boston, whose acts of persecution are set down in the chapters heretofore devoted to him, among which the breaking up of the village at Marlborough, and the imprisonment of the helpless and harmless Indians, was perhaps the most open outrage sustained by any; and it is to the credit of the magistrates that they did not yield to the tremendous pressure of the people's rage, which by every device possible kept these poor creatures on trial for their lives and imprisoned through many weeks. Early in October the fever rose to its height, and the Court was importuned with many petitions to remove all the Christian Indians to one place and put them under military guard. In spite of all proof and testimony, and all the favor of the Court,

and the best conscience of the community, together with the advocacy of Gen. Gookin, Mr. Eliot, Corporal Thomas Swift, inspector at Puncuapog, John Watson abovementioned, Mr. John Hoar of Concord, and others,—the popular frenzy prevailed, and there is no doubt that in several cases fires were set and damage was done by inhabitants living near the "Praying Villages," who hated these Indians and desired their removal; or often by hostile Indians who were skulking about in the neighborhood, and knew they had more to fear from the scouts of these Christian Indians than from all the troops of the English. October 18th, a party of the hostile Indians set fire to a haystack of Lieut. Richardson at Chelmsford, and managed so that the deed should appear to be done by the Wamesit Praying Indians, that so the English should remove them from their village, or so persecute them as to drive them to the enemy. This crime was afterward confessed by Nathaniel, a hostile Indian, who was taken at Dover by the strategy of Maj. Waldron, and executed at Boston. Although Lieut. Richardson declared that the "Praying Indians" were his warm friends, and would never injure him, their best friend in those parts, all availed nothing, the vulgar clamor prevailed, and the Court next day passed an order for the troopers to bring down the Wamesits, and also the Punkapogs, upon some like occasion of complaint.

N^o. XXXI.

CHRISTIAN INDIANS OF MR. ELIOT AND GEN. GOOKIN.

IN referring to preceding chapters it may be noticed that several incidents concerning the Christian Indians have been related in connection with the operations of the English soldiers, while the same matters, somewhat more at length, are here related again. It will be readily understood that these repetitions are made for the sake of preserving the continuity of the story in this chapter devoted to these Indians.

The order of the Council, referred to in the last number, was carried out by a strong guard of troopers and soldiers. The whole number of the Wamesits in their village was one hundred and forty-five, of whom only thirty-three were able-bodied men. The original order was for all to be brought down ; but after the village had been broken up and all had been started on the way, it occurred to the Council that there were no sufficient accommodations for so large a body of people, especially Indians, and they prudently ordered all, save the able-bodied, back to their village. The thirty-three men were brought down to Charlestown, and lodged in the town-house, under guard, for a few days, and then all except a few, against whom some suspicions existed, were returned to their homes. The Punkapogs were brought as far as Dorchester, but after an interview with their ruler, William Ahaton, the Council sent all the tribe, save a few "suspects," home. About the first of October a great clamor was raised against the Naticks, accusing them of burning an old empty building in Dedham. It was a false device of their enemies to ruin them ; but in spite of all the better influence of the magistrates and ministers, the design practically succeeded. The popular fury so raged that the authorities and the friends of these Indians believed that it would be best to get them down to Deer Island. This was accomplished, and although Capt. Prentice, their good friend, conducted them down, and did all he could to protect them, their neighbors, the English, as soon as they had left their homes, immediately fell upon their villages and robbed them of everything which they had left behind ; and they had been obliged

to leave their homes at an hour's notice. Their guns, hunting-gear, ammunition, stores, etc., all which was their own private property, were plundered by their English neighbors and never returned to them. Rev. Mr. Eliot, Major Gookin and others of their friends, met them at the "Falls of the Charles River" and they were taken down to Deer Island, in boats, with such of their poor belongings as they were able to bring along. Some two hundred in all were landed upon the bleak island, with scant clothing and food, and no shelter save such as they might construct. They suffered incredibly in many ways, being obliged to subsist largely upon clams, and such fish as might be taken from the shore.

In November, the Hassanamesit Praying Village was attacked by the hostile Indians, and about fifty men and one hundred and fifty women and children captured. They had been disarmed by the English, and so abused and threatened by their English neighbors that many went willingly, as they were persuaded that the English were mostly hostile to them, and meant to destroy them. James Speen and Job Kattenanit escaped and brought the news to the English. Their ruler "Capt. Tom," *alias* "Wuttasacomponom," had been a tried and trusted friend of the English, but had been so insulted and threatened by the English that he yielded to the enemy, and many others followed with him. The pastor of their church, Joseph Tuckapawillin, and his aged father Naoas, went unwillingly and sorrowfully.

By this stroke the cause of christianizing the Indians met with a very severe check, there being three villages, viz., Hassanamesit, Magunkog and Chobonokonomum, broken up. Properly armed and garrisoned with a few English, along with the Indians, these villages would have been a strong defence in the war. It was upon this disaster that Capts. Henchman and Syll came to Hassanamesit, and the record of their expedition shows that all the success they had, was achieved by the five Natick scouts, of whom three were Thomas and James Quanapohit and Eleazar Pegin, who were highly commended for their services, their courage and fidelity, by their officers. But the hate and prejudice was so bitter among the soldiers, that Capt. Syll was forced to send three of the Indians back home. For lack of these, Lieut. Philip Curtis lost his life uselessly, his company being left without any scouts. James and Thomas Quanapohit remained in Capt. Syll's company.

When Job Kattenanit escaped from Hassanamesit he left his three children with the hostile Indians, and was granted a pass to go into the woods to try to recover them; but meeting with some of Capt. Henchman's soldiers, he was seized and stripped of most of his clothing and his arms, and then by the Captain, to still the rage of the soldiers and populace, he was sent down to Boston, and there thrown into prison, no note being taken of his pass from Major Gookin. He suffered here from the foulness of the prison and the

crowded situation, and the insults and persecutions to which they were subjected.

In the meantime the Wamesits were meeting with another disaster, in the burning of a barn of hay by some hostile Indian or Englishman for the purpose of casting reproach upon them. Lieut. Thomas Henchman, and Lieut. James Richardson, whose barn was burnt, were friends of these Indians and in charge of them, and believed them innocent; but some of the English at Chelmsford secretly organized a party who went to the wigwams and shot down five women, seriously wounding them and killing a boy outright. The assault was unqualified, brutal murder. The lad was a son of a sagamore, and grandson of a worthy old Sachem, Tahatawarre. The mother, who was among the dangerously wounded, was the daughter of that staunch friend of the English, "Sagamore John." This horrible outrage greatly exercised the Council; and the murderers, two fellows named Largin and Robins, who were shown to be the ones who had fired their guns, loaded with shot, into the crowd, were arrested. But notwithstanding the efforts of the magistrates and ministers, with all the best men of the colony, no jury could be found to convict them; and after an extended imprisonment they were set free. By this act the rest of the Indians were so disheartened and frightened that they all forsook their villages and went away towards Pennacook to join Wannalanacet. Sam Numphow and John Lyne, their rulers, sent back a written answer, by the messengers of the Council (sent to induce them to return, and promising protection), that they had confidence in the Council's good will but feared the people, and so were going away "to the French." This last was the sharpest point of reproach, as it compared the success of the Catholics with the notable failure of the Protestants to convert the Indians. But being in straitened circumstances, and earnestly reassured by the Council, they were induced to return after a few weeks; and Lieut. Thomas Henchman was placed in charge as their guardian, and Major Willard, Mr. Eliot and Major Gookin went up and visited them. Symon Betokom, one of their teachers, told Mr. Eliot that while in the woods they held their worship three Sabbaths, in their rude way. He said, "The first Sabbath I read and taught the people from Psalm 35; the second, from Psalm 46; and the third, from Psalm 118;—a pathetic picture, showing somewhat the opportunity which the prejudice and greed of the Puritan masses lost to the cause of Protestant Christianity. Sometime after the Naticks were taken to Deer Island, the Punkapogs were also brought down, making the number there, all told, five hundred. Although the magistrates, and their faithful friends Eliot and Gookin, did all in their power to help them, these poor souls suffered terribly from cold and hunger during the winter.

After the great fight at Narraganset, it was greatly desired to

learn the position and movements of the Indians to the westward, towards the Connecticut River. Major Gookin was requested to enlist two of the Indians at Deer Island to go as spies amongst the enemies. He selected Job Kattenanit and James Quanapohit. These two were sent away into the woods and got among the Indians at Brookfield about January 3d, and by a plausible story of escape from Deer Island and of their sufferings there and their wish to release their friends from that place, were received, and remained for a month amongst the enemies, and the story of their sojourn contains nearly all that is known of the events during that important time, when the Narragansets were coming northward and all the tribes were gathering for the struggle of the coming Spring. Upon January 24th James returned, fearing mischief from Philip, who had sent for Mautampe to bring James up to him. James escaped with the assistance of Job, who wished to remain until able to bring off his children. James came into the house of Isaac Williams at the Falls of the Charles River, and came with him the next day to Major Gookin and to the Council, to whom he made report of his sojourn, and the position and numbers, disposition and purpose of the Indians allied with Philip. His report was communicated to Connecticut Colony and is preserved in their archives. James told of the plan of the Indians to assault the frontier towns, beginning with Lancaster, in about three weeks time. Job Kattenanit escaped and came in on February 9th, confirming James's account and reporting the war-party already marching upon Lancaster. Acting upon his report, messengers were despatched to Marlborough, Concord and Lancaster, and Capt. Wadsworth with forty men marched from Marlborough, in time to find the bridge burned, as James had said the Indians planned, but escaping the ambush laid by the regular road, the English were guided around by another bridge and were able to beat the enemy off from the garrison-house owned by Mr. Cyprian Stevens, and thus to secure the town from entire destruction. If the warning of James had been heeded the destruction of the Rowlandson garrison-house and the death and captivity of its occupants might easily have been averted. But for all the hardships and fidelity of these two, the vulgar prejudice was so great that the Governor and Council were again forced to yield, and these faithful men returning from their service were sent down again to Deer Island to share the privations of their brethren. And not only against these but against their friends, Eliot, Gookin and Danforth, the blind fury raged, and the lives of these true men were attempted in a cowardly manner on several occasions. In February the Wamesits, fearing the hostile Indians on the one hand and their English neighbors on the other, petitioned to be removed to some safer place within the Colony. The Court promised, but neglected to take care of them, and the great body of them fled to Pennacook, to Wannalancet, being forced to leave behind for the time some

half a dozen of their aged and blind, whom they considered safe, being helpless and harmless. After they were gone, these poor creatures were found and brutally murdered (being burned to death, as appeared, within their wigwam) by two brutes of the English, against whom nothing direct could be proved, but who were quite well known by the public, as they rather enjoyed such notoriety than feared it among their fellows.

In this retreat of the Wamesits, Sam Numphow their ruler, and Mystic George, died from exposure and famine. Upon the partial destruction of Medfield, February 21st, as James and Job had foretold in their account of the enemies' programme, the popular shame and spleen raged, not against the stupidity and inefficiency of the two companies of soldiers mostly asleep in the houses of the town, without out-posts or scouts, but against the inoffensive Indians at Deer Island, and a plot was laid by a large number of the most violent and dissolute of the lower classes gathered in and about Boston. The plot was to go over to Deer Island from "Pulling Point" in large boats, and fall upon the defenceless Indians with indiscriminate slaughter. The horrible plot was discovered, and a few of the ringleaders summoned before the Court, which frustrated the cowardly design.

The Nashobah Christian Indians were at Concord in charge of Mr. John Hoare, and were quiet, peaceful and industrious. The popular discontent could not bide their peace, and the more hostile took advantage of the presence of Capt. Mosely, and enlisted his interference with them. He, with his rough soldiers, came into the church on the Sabbath, and after the services spoke to the congregation in his haughty and insolent way, declaring his intention to break up the Indian village and carry all the "heathen" down to Boston. He carried out his threat the next day without any authority, and against the remonstrance of that honorable Christian gentleman, Mr. John Hoare, who held commission from the Court for their care. He broke into their great house, which belonged to Mr. Hoare, plundered the poor helpless creatures of all they had, insulted and abused Mr. Hoare, and sent the Indians, to the number of fifty-eight, of whom twelve only were able-bodied men, down to Boston under a guard of some twenty of his rough and brutal soldiers; and sent down an insolent letter to the Council in account of his action. This high-handed breach of authority on the part of a mere captain stirred the indignation of the whole Court, but though they denounced his act in the assembly freely, so great was his popularity among the lower classes that it was not deemed expedient to reprimand him or interfere with his command. The Indians were sent down to their countrymen at the Island, robbed and abused; and the captain went on his way unrebuked.

But the Corporation in London came to the aid of the friends of the Christian Indians, and their support greatly encouraged the better

sentiment of the colony ; for they not only sent supplies and money for the Indians, but letters came inquiring into the treatment of the Christian Indians. When the popular cry was raised that the Indians at Deer Island should be transported out of the country or destroyed, the General Court presented a bold front, and by public proclamation declared these Christian Indians to be the allies and friends of the English by the olden treaty of 1643, made with their fathers, and never to this day broken by them or their children. This firmness did much to enlighten and allay popular prejudice.

When Major Savage took command of the army to march to the West in March, 1675-6, he made one condition, that he should have a number of the Indians at Deer Island for guides. In pursuance of this arrangement Major Gookin procured for him, James Quanapohit, Job Kattenanit, James Speen, Andrew Pitimee, and William Ahaton. All these were men of tried courage and fidelity, and were greatly elated that they would now have a chance under Major Savage to prove their truth and worth. But when the troops were at Marlborough, Job was permitted to go forward towards Hassanamisit to meet his children in the place appointed by them, when he escaped ; and it was hoped that those of his tribe who had come lately from the enemy could give later information ; but when Capt. Moseley knew of this he made a great tumult, and so stirred up the violent spirits among the soldiers that a revolt was threatened, and it became necessary to send away after Job to bring him back, and Capts. Wadsworth and Syll rode after him with all speed with James Quanapohit as guide ; but Job returned to the forces without meeting his friends, though they had been at the place appointed. These poor wanderers were taken, coming to the English camps, by some of Capt. Benj. Gibbs's men shortly afterwards, and brought into camp with great ado as being a grand prize, but Major Savage found them to be Job's friends and received them civilly and sent them back to Marlborough, where they had to stop a night, and there they were beset by a mob of frantic English women, and so threatened and abused that four of them escaped in the night.

It will be remembered that many of the soldiers, and especially those of Capt. Moseley's "volunteer" company, were of the most reckless and disreputable class in the colony, and many of them used the occasion of public service as a cloak for any sort of crime. They robbed the defenceless Indians, and to hide their crime raised a storm of fear against them by their falsehoods. At the same time they stirred up all the worst passions of the people, and through these sought to intimidate the Indians to escape, or provoke them to some act of resistance which would prevent their demanding back their stolen property. On this occasion at Marlborough, the soldiers had stripped the poor creatures of everything, and had even robbed the faithful Indian minister of the pewter communion cup given him by Mr. Eliot. The four who had made their escape,

were Joseph Tuckapawillin's wife, who left an infant behind, in her panic; their son, a lad of twelve years, following with his mother; also another woman, a widow, who had cared for Job's children in their captivity, and her daughter. All these fugitives were brought in by Tom Dublet a few weeks later, when he went into the woods to negotiate with the enemy for the return of prisoners. The lad died in the woods from hunger and exposure. These were sent down to Deer Island, where their companions had already been sent. Capt. Nicholas Paige entertained these poor Indians at his house in Boston, as they passed through the town on their way to the Island. He was a firm friend to the Christian Indians and a very independent man. Job afterwards married the woman who had so faithfully cared for his children in their captivity.

The six Indians who went as guides to the army acted their part with courage and fidelity, and were commended by Major Savage; while Mr. Nowell, the chaplain of the army in this expedition, wrote of them :

I look at it as a great rebuke of God that we should miss our enemy as we did when we were at Menumesse. If we had harkened to those six Indians whom we took from Deer Island, we might have prevented that error. They have behaved themselves like sober honest men since they abode with us, which hath made me look after them more carefully.

The whole testimony of the better-minded tends to show that the chief cause of the great disappointment and disaster of this expedition was the fanatical prejudice and violent insubordination of Mosely and his adherents; and there is little doubt that if a company of the Indians at Deer Island had been raised (as Capt. Henchman, who was in charge of them, had often proposed, as he had found them ready and willing to serve), the campaign would have been far different in its event.

The six Indians were so insulted and abused by their enemies in the army, who taunted them with having been the cause of the defeat, etc., that they returned to the Island utterly discouraged; so that when a messenger was needed to go out to the enemy to treat for the return of Mrs. Rowlandson, not one could be found for a long time, until finally Tom Dublet, mentioned above, consented, and upon April 3d, 1676, went into the woods and returned on the 12th, bringing a letter of agreement from the enemy.

The Council determined at last to stem the tide of popular opposition and equip and send forth a company of Christian Indians, to try if the devastations of the enemy along the frontiers could be checked. In pursuance of this order, April 21st, 1676, Capt. Samuel Hunting and Lieut. James Richardson drew up and furnished their company of forty Indians at Charlestown. They were ordered first to march up to the Merrimack near Chelmsford, and there to build a fort and settle a garrison at the great falls, which was a famous fishing place; they were to scout and guard, etc.;

but before they marched and about midday came the news of the attack of the great body of Indians upon Sudbury. Capt. Hunting with his company marched away to Sudbury and rendered service, as has been related in the chapter relating to the Sudbury fight. The service here rendered did much to abate the hostility against the Christian Indians, and they were thenceforward in constant service in all the expeditions while the war lasted, and Capt. Hunting's company was soon made up to eighty men, who were furnished with arms sent over from England.

From the time that Capt. Hunting's company took the field, the enemy lost heart, evidently fearing them more than the whole armies of English, which they could easily elude, or ambush or mislead. In the summer of 1676 this company took captive or killed about four hundred of the enemy, and did nearly all the effective work against the enemy in the closing operations of the war. The services of Capt. Hunting and his company at the Eastward and elsewhere have been incidentally related.

When the great body of able-bodied men were drawn forth from the Christian Indians, there were left upon Long Island, whither they were now removed, some four hundred old men, women and children. After great suffering, and many efforts of their friends, these poor souls were brought up to Cambridge by the authority of the Court, and through the influence of the "Right Honorable Corporation" in London, which furnished the means through Major Gookin. Mr. Thomas Oliver, a good friend of these Indians, offered a commodious place upon his farm, not far from the Charles River, where they might find convenience of fishing, fuel and planting; and near by there was his large garrison-house to which they might easily retreat in any time of danger. The Punkapog Indians upon their removal from the Islands were settled at "Brush Hill" in Milton, under the care of Quarter-master Thomas Swift. The Indians at Mr. Oliver's remained through the Summer, but broke up into smaller companies after harvest for greater convenience, settling at Nonantum, Punkapog, Cowate (the Fall of Charles River) Natick, Medfield, Concord, and Namkeake (near Chelmsford).

According to the official report of Major Daniel Gookin, presented to the Council, November 10, 1676, the Punkapog Indians, "residing about Milton, Dorchester and Brantree," were mostly employed among the English to cut cord-wood, etc. Their number was one hundred and seventy-five,—thirty-five men and one hundred and forty women and children.

The Naticks were divided into four companies. The first lived at Medfield, with James Rumney-marsh and his kindred, and numbered twenty-five, including five men. The second company were near Natick garrison-house, under the inspection of Andrew Dewin and his sons, who desired to live near them; their number was

about fifty,—ten men and forty others. The third company, with Waban, lived near the Falls of the Charles River, near the house of Joseph Miller, and not far from the home of Capt. Prentice,—their number about sixty, of whom twelve were men. The fourth company dwelt at Nonantum-hill, near Lieut. Trowbridge and John Coones. A portion of this company were living at Muddy River, near John White's; and separate families near the houses of Mr. Thomas Oliver, Mr. Sparhawk, and Daniel Champney, and were employed by these gentlemen to cut wood and build stone walls, while the women were taught and then employed as spinners. This fourth company numbered about fifteen men and sixty women and children, in all seventy-five.

The Naticks, numbering thus some two hundred and ten, included the most of those who had not been scattered by flight to the hostile Indians, by being sold into service to individual families of the English, or by death,—who had formerly belonged in the villages of Hassanamesit, Magunkog, Marlborough, and Wamesit. At the time the report was made, nearly all the able-bodied men of the Naticks were with Capt. Hunting at the Eastward.

The Nashobah or Concord Indians lived at Concord, and were under the direction of the military officers and Selectmen of the town; their number was about fifty. The Pennacooks, and those who adhered to Wannalancet, lived at Dunstable, under the direction of Mr. Jonathan Tyng, and in his absence the care devolved upon Robert Parris. The number of these last was about sixty. A small company dwelt at Ipswich, under the town authorities,—their number was about twenty-five. Besides these there were separate families living with the English as servants. Mention is made of a Mr. Gates of Watertown; Justinian Holden, Corporal Humand (Hammond?), and Wilson at Shawshin; and these numbered about forty souls.

Major Gookin estimated the whole number of Christian Indians at this time to be five hundred and ninety-seven, of whom one hundred and seventeen were men.

In conclusion, it may be said that the foregoing chapters are meant to give a brief account of the relations of these Christian Indians to the Colony, and especially during the stirring events of the Indian war. Subsequently the scattered and ever dwindling companies were gathered at Natick, where an Indian church had been established, and an Indian town was regularly incorporated. The town was first laid out in 1651, and was governed by Indian officers under a committee chosen by the General Court. The descendants of Waban, the principal ruler at Natick at the first establishment, continued to be the chief officers of the town for two generations. The town remained nominally an Indian town until 1762, when it passed into the government of the English. The last of the Natick Indians died before the close of 1826.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 13, line 2, the year is 1675.

“ “ “ 16, the name does appear as Atherton. See note, p. 17.

“ 35, “ 12, March instead of April.

“ 55, “ 25, for Wenimesset, read Menameset or Meminimesset.

“ 62, note 76. The information was a mistake; the graves mentioned are of later date.

“ 71, “ Rev. J. H. Temple, in his History of Brookfield, on the other hand, seems to prove fully the theory arrived at in the above article.

“ 127, line 30. I find that he married Mary Frend, widow of John, and daughter of Thomas Dexter.

“ 130, “ 11, from bottom, after Waterboro', read Maine.

“ 172, “ 10, after Abigail, insert John, born 1674.

“ 230. Lt W^m Hasey, aged about 70 years, died May 30, 1689, Gr. Stone at Wakefield, Mass.

“ “ line 4 from bottom, read 1662 for 1762.

“ 254, in signature Wannalancet, put s instead of c. See note p. 267.

“ 338, line 11, for Awashonks, read “Weetamoo Squaw Sachem of Pocasset.”

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